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ABSTRACT

Sixty-six articles and two poems, selected from "Educational Leadership", comprise this book. Major emphasis is on curricular concerns and instruction in the schools of today and the future. Authors provide insightful, comprehensive understanding about educational issues and concerns rather than attempt final answers to complex problems. Re-examination of educational goals is necessary before future curriculum is reshaped. The materials, divided into 11 sections, are arranged partly in chronological order by date of publication and partly in accordance with logical treatment of the instructional concern represented. The divisions are: 1) Values; 2) Individualization; 3) Social Involvement; 4) The Search for Theory; 5) Integration; 6) Ethnic Studies; 7) Student Rights and Responsibilities; 8) Whorls in a Revolutionary Society; 9) Politics; 10) Adapting to the Needs of our Time; and, 11) In a World Setting. The various authors uphold the potential of each individual and express the importance of increasing interrelationship and interdependence of human affairs in the world scene. New meaning and quality in education can be agents of change toward solving world problems. Included is a list of Autumn 1971 ASCD publications and an author-subject-title index that is alphabetically arranged. (Editor/SJM)

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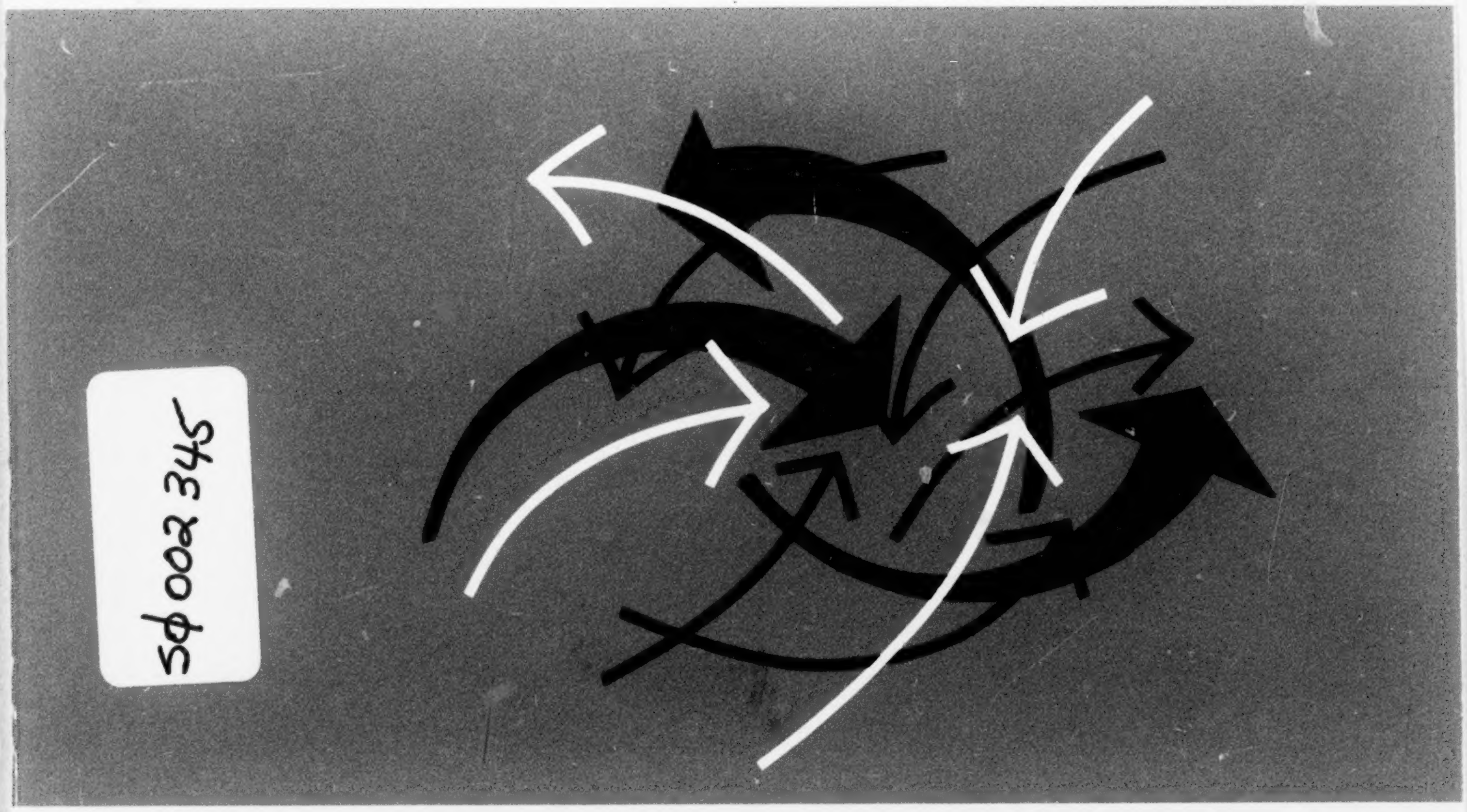
CURRICULAR CONCERNS in a Revolutionary Era



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Readings
from
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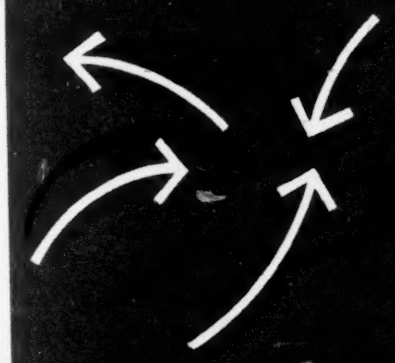

CURRICULAR CONCERNS in a Revolutionary Era

Readings from EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Edited by
ROBERT R. LEEPER

Introduction by
NEIL P. ATKINS

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and Curriculum Development
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FOREWORD

A Rich Yield

Curricular Concerns in a Revolutionary Era represents a rich yield of special materials from *Educational Leadership*, the journal of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Here is a panorama of curricular concerns etched in the fires of an insurgent period. The focus is upon instruction and the setting is that of the school in today's world.

That the past decade has been one of kaleidoscopic change is evident beyond discussion. The ebb and flow of the various adversarial forces have not stilled in all these years; nor will they still perceptibly in the decade to come. Both word and deed, sometimes violent, raucous, searing, often shocking, have pierced our complacency and stirred our consciences. In this period many voices have confronted us with our own ideals, with the dreams and aspirations that we had thought we were exemplifying well in our lives and institutions. These voices have taught us of our shortcomings. They have reminded us of democracy—the surpassing gift—and of the long overdue delivery date.

Through this turbulent decade, we have had the counsel of persons with unusual vision and perspective. So many of the contributors to *Educational Leadership* have shared their wisdom with us. They have enabled us again and again to move forward in the continuing struggle to make schooling more meaningful and fulfilling for all who are influenced by it, whether pupil, teacher, supervisor, administrator, parent, or other citizen. In their writing, these school people have reached beyond themselves, beyond the confines of their classroom or school or state or region. Frequently they have helped us to identify, analyze, probe, the urgent problems and needs of our time. Often they have pointed to the light on the far horizon, the flame of insight that can guide us to a higher, happier, and better tomorrow—today.

The writings included here represent, not a set of conclusions or final answers in any of the areas treated, but rather important statements of issues or concerns or a masterful attempt to extend our grasp of the topic. When the reader comes to the end of these pages, he will see that the discussion is not completed; yet he will sense that it has been astutely and ably advanced by the writings of the contributors. He will recognize as have these writers that there are few simple answers to such complex concerns as those treated herein.

It would be impossible to state that the curricular concerns examined here are the sole or even the most important issues of these turbulent years. Yet we do believe that the ideas treated in the following pages have been close to many of the school people who have been trying to sense the meaning, the aspiration, the potential, and the finality of the tumultuous hours we are experiencing together.

Two poems and sixty-six articles comprise this volume. These materials fall rather naturally into eleven groupings, beginning with the very personal and moving out through the home, the school, the community to the national and the international scene. The sections are the following:

1. Values: The Challenge, the Dilemma
2. Individualization: The Pupil as Person
3. Social Involvement: The Issues, the Ideals
4. The Search for Theory
5. Integration: The Upreach, the Outreach
6. Ethnic Studies: The Richness of Pluralism
7. Student Rights and Responsibilities
8. Whorls in a Revolutionary Society
9. Politics: Education in the Arena
10. Adapting to the Needs of Our Time
11. In a World Setting

Materials in each of these sections are arranged partly in chronological order by date of publication, and partly in accordance with the logical treatment of the instructional concern represented. Each section attempts to plunge directly into the heart of a curricular concern and to develop the broader implications of the topic.

Some of the materials included here have been selected and used by other anthologists in the field of curriculum and instruction. We believe, however, that the presentation in this ASCD book of readings will bring within a single cover materials that would not otherwise be easily available to students in education, whether preservice or in-service. These special writings are here made available to all persons who are concerned with curricular matters in a trying, uncertain—yet exciting and, in so vastly many ways, promising—era.

October 1971

ROBERT R. LEEPER, *Editor*
and Associate Secretary
Association for Supervision and
Curriculum Development

INTRODUCTION

The Textures of Tomorrow

OUR SCHOOLS are in trouble. Public confidence in educational institutions of all varieties is seriously eroded. A fundamental question, often unformed and unuttered, hovers relentlessly above the endless debate of a dozen or more contemporary educational issues. The question, simply stated, is, "What is going to happen to education in the seventies?" Will the decade be identified, in the long sweep of history of the United States, as the time in which formal schooling disintegrated and dwindled as a vital force in the life of the nation, or was revitalized and renewed?

The final answer to that question, of course, is not at all clear. We shall simply have to await the course of events and the passage of time before judgment can be made. Nevertheless, all signs point to the likelihood that the seventies will feature a reordering of educational priorities in the nation. If this prediction turns out to be a valid one, then we are, indeed, in a revolutionary era.

One could read the many sharp disagreements that contribute to the growing disenchantment with education as signals of concern, if not distress, from a people already deep into the process of learning how to cope with the staggering changes which confront us as a country. The insistent call to account for the successes and failures of the school is prodding us into attempting to newly define or freshly redefine the purpose and function of education in our society. It is not surprising, then, to discover that basic curriculum questions are being revived with a new sense of urgency: What is schooling for? How clear an image do we as a nation have of what we want our schools to do? Do we have anything resembling agreement about the *kind of learning* the schools are being called upon to promote? Can we detect among our people even a trace of common commitment to the kind of society we are to teach toward? Out of the discussions and debates on questions such as these, new ends and concerns for schools will be derived.

Clearly, educators cannot and should not do the job alone, yet they will carry a heavy responsibility in the clarification of goals and priorities in education. It is equally clear that, as the process continues, they will be obliged to look more and more beyond the confines of the schools to the culture for direction. Merely reworking the familiar fabric of curriculum content is not enough in a revolutionary era. The curricular concerns examined in the pages of this volume touch the textures of tomorrow. Some concerns may eventually be muted; others will become dominant patterns in the curriculum; still others which are not even present here may finally be incorporated into the new educational design. Yet, to consider them thoughtfully is to challenge not only the present ordering of goals and priorities, but also many of our personal educational convictions and commitments. More than that, an examination of these concerns calls into question our professional competence to translate them into practice.

Suppose, for example, that by some miraculous happenstance we were to find out that the American people wanted the schools to contribute directly to the development of more genuinely humane individuals—thinking, feeling, self-actualizing, and self-confident persons who are open, responsive, concerned, and responsible enough to be counted on to exercise intelligent action on personal and social issues. Would we be prepared to suggest the direction in which curriculum reconstruction should be headed to accomplish that end?

If we are to help shape the curriculum of the future, we shall have to undertake the job of reeducating ourselves for the task. The world of education is not what it once was. Priorities, values, organizations, centers of power, and lines of authority are shifting radically. If old answers do not solve new problems, then we shall have to learn how to analyze the latter and rethink the former.

It is a far more comfortable task to perfect the method than to rethink the goal. It is a painful and traumatic experience to be forced to reexamine where one is going when one is so intent upon trying to get there. That is true for nations as well as individuals. Yet, in a revolutionary era it must be done.

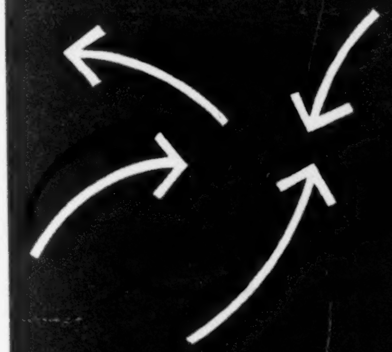
The curricular concerns expressed by the authors in these pages do not lend themselves to ready-made solutions. On the contrary, they underscore the importance of generating new understandings rather than searching for magic formulae. Perhaps in the past we have not been called upon enough to generate ideas; we have instead been expected to apply techniques to soothe educational ills. However, if we read the temper of the times correctly, those expectations have changed.

As we look at the conflicting demands placed upon the schools, we are often appalled at the disarray. The question is how can we contribute from our position in education—whatever it may be—to turning the ebb of cynicism into the flow of confidence?

As a group of people in all roles and positions in education who have associated themselves in ASCD on behalf of the improvement of the quality of the educational experience in the schools, our purpose has been and continues to be to improve ourselves. From the pages of *Educational Leadership,* these authors have helped us to sharpen our perceptions of curricular concerns, to heighten our awareness of trends and issues that are emerging (some say exploding), and to identify and learn new competencies that we are being asked to acquire. Beyond that, though, it is up to the individual, in his own situation, to *do.*

October 1971

NEIL P. ATKINS, *Executive Secretary*
Association for Supervision and
Curriculum Development



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VALUES: THE CHALLENGE, THE DILEMMA

> *We hope for miracles on the "values front." We do not pay enough attention to the fact that it took many years for our students to learn their present almost valueless behavior, and that it may take a long sustained effort to help students to develop serious purposes and aspirations through the clarifying processes. For a free society, opportunities to clarify and to choose must be created again and again.*
> Raths, p. 16.

EL *23 (2): 121-23; November 1965*
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Who Am I?

THERON H. JACOBSON

I am Negro—
I am bad.
I am poor white trash—
I am bad.
My mother whips me to make me good—
I am bad.
My preacher says the devil will get me—
I am bad.
Jesus don't love me—
I am bad.
I don't know what that teacher says—
I am bad.
I don't understand her so I don't listen—
I am bad.
I don't know them funny black marks in my book—
I am bad.
I can't make them marks stay on the lines—
I am bad.
My teacher puts a paper on my desk—
I don't know what to do—
I do nothin'—
I am bad.
I make pretty colored marks on the paper (I like my crayons)—
It makes me feel good—
I want to show it to the kid next to me and tell him about it—
I talked—
I marked up my paper—
I am very, very bad.
That kid next to me—he is good—
The teacher likes his paper—
He went to play with some trucks and blocks—
I want to play with blocks and trucks—
No! I am bad.
I marked up my paper—
Blocks and trucks are for good kids—
Bad boys put their heads on their desks—
I am very bad.
I don't feel good—
I made marks on that kid's paper and threw it on the floor—
It made me feel good—
Now I am very, very bad.
The bell rings—
I can go!

Who am I?

I run—
I shout—
I hit that kid next to me—
I am Negro—
I am poor white trash—
I don't know nothin'—
I don't listen—
I am lazy—
I don't sit still—
I mark on my papers—
I mark on other kids' papers—
I hit kids—
I know who I am—
I am the bad-dest kid in the room—
Everybody knows it—
I am so bad.

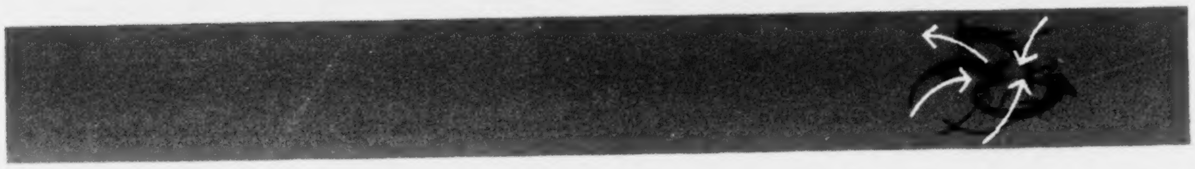
Today the teacher smiled at me!
"Hello—I like that red shirt!"
I don't say nothin'—
I see some trucks—
I'd like to roll them on the rug—
She don't care—
I roll them and roll them—
That makes me feel real good.
I'll take them blocks and make me a garage for my trucks—

Theron H. Jacobson, First Grade Teacher, Washington School, Decatur, Illinois

I make me a good garage and put my trucks in it—
I lie on the rug and look at it—
I feel good.
My teacher says, "Tony, you made a good garage.
You used some red blocks.
Let's count together and see how many red blocks you used.
1—2—3—4.
Let's see how many wheels are on that truck.
1—2—3—4.
Tony, you are a smart boy!
You can count!"
I feel very, very good!
That kid next to me—
He wanted to make a garage too—
I helped him—
We made a garage—
It was a big garage—
We put a big truck in it—
That boy said we had 2 garages and 2 trucks—
We used some green blocks—
That boy and me counted—
He helped me count 8 green blocks—
I feel good!
We got some paper—
A big stack is over there where we can get it any time we want it—
We made big colored marks all over our papers—
It looked pretty!
My teacher said, "Tony and Jeff, you made some pretty pictures!
Get that roll of tape and we'll put them up.
I'll write your names with my big black pencil so everyone can see!
We have 2 pretty pictures!"
I feel good.
Them funny marks says my name—
I believe I can make one of them funny marks—
I made one on the board—
I feel good.
My teacher said, "My, that is good!
Some of these days you can write all your name.
You are a smart boy.
I'm glad you are in my room!"
She likes me!
I say, "I'll make you 'nuther good picture, better'n that!"
Me and that kid next to me went out to play.
He likes me!

Who am I?

I am a boy—
I am good!
I am Tony—
I am good!
I made a good garage—
I am good!
I counted—
I am good!
I know this is a red shirt—
I am good!
That kid likes me—
I am good!
The teacher likes me—
I am good!
I made a pretty picture—
I am good!
I know them funny marks says my name—
I am good!
I made one of them marks—
I am very, very good!
That kid next to me is good, too—
We're 2 good boys—
I'm glad I'm me!



EL *26 (1): 9-11; October 1968*
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Will America Survive?

ALVIN D. LOVING, SR.

I AM optimistic about America's future. I could just as easily be fatalistic. There really is not much choice. Either you have faith in mankind, or you do not. Either you believe we can resolve our social dilemma by the turn of this century or you believe we will perish as a nation. In the past, people have said give us a hundred years and we will resolve our differences. No longer do we have a hundred years. According to Alvin Toffler,[1] maybe we do not have the thirty-two I have so optimistically referred to. Toffler says, "We are suffering the dizzying disorientation brought on by the premature arrival of the future."

If the future is *now,* we will not survive. But, if the future is a mere thirty-two years away, we may make it. In a very complex society like ours, it takes a little time even to destroy ourselves. Witness the hot summers of 1966 and 1967. Rather than the beginning of the end, these, for some, turned out to be blessings in disguise. For if we, as a nation, were not concerned, we would not have become involved in dialogue that produced the Kerner Report[2] or groups like the Detroit Committee.[3] These are not ends in themselves. They are a part of the dialogue. The vast TV networks are involved in this dialogue; America's churches are a part; the federal government, social agencies, service clubs, and chambers of commerce are involved.

By the year 2000, equality of opportunity will be a way of life. Social justice will be a reality. Subcultural differences will be de-emphasized, giving more meaning to a unified American culture.

These changes will not come easily. Nothing in a democracy does. One route could be through a high quality of education which, coupled with black pride and proper motivation, will develop an innovative urban sophistication. A highly educated, well-trained leadership, supplemented with black urban sociologists, black psychologists, scientists, engineers, and technologists, will begin to use the power and control that cities have. Suburban areas, which depend on the cities for water, sewage, electric power, and employment, will find themselves at the mercy of this highly sophisticated center of control. Those suburban communities that have elected to become isolated from the cities will find themselves taxed greatly by the control centers to get these much needed utilities and services. The dense population brought on by the increasing birthrate in these core areas will, by our method of representative government, give these centers political power and control. A "sharecropper revolution" of the Appalachian whites, Puerto Ricans, American Indians,

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[1] Alvin Toffler. "The Future as a Way of Life." *Horizon* 7 (3): 109-15; Summer 1965. © Copyright 1965 by Alvin Toffler.

[2] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.* Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, March 1, 1968.

[3] "Progress Report of the New Detroit Committee," appointed by Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh and Governor George Romney of the State of Michigan.

Alvin D. Loving, Sr., Assistant Dean, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and ASCD President, 1971-72

and Mexican Americans, coupled with the disappearance of the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) myth, will further complicate the American scene. This power and complication will not come easily. There would be violence in degrees unbelievable.

Education as Change Agent

A second route could be through education as an agent of change. Education, with vision and with forthright conviction of its leadership role in sociocultural development, could through reorganization and innovation bring us to the same point by the turn of the century that revolution and violence threaten to do.

Education could realize that there is nothing sacred about our graded system of organization, our report card as a means of evaluating pupil progress, our neighborhood schoolhouses, our localized boards of education, our present administrative organization, our outmoded system of financial support for schools, our perpetuation of the status quo, our lip-service to the ideals of democracy, or our silent consent to racism.

Given the climate of today and the frightening thought that we may not turn this century as a free democratic society, if a society at all, education could effectively utilize all it already knows. We know how children learn, how children feel, much about individual differences, implementation of innovations, and reorganization and consolidation of school districts. We have skills in human relations, in in-service education, and in research. We know how to implement research findings.

Education could, or rather must, take the leadership in moving boards of education and communities toward the realization that support of the ideals of democracy is our only hope of survival as a nation.

Communities must be made to realize that political boundaries serving as school district boundaries in metropolitan areas are as obsolete as they are in outstate, sparsely populated areas where consolidation is taking place. Socioeconomic and racial factors are the main reasons for urban community adherence to old boundaries. Rich districts do not want to support poor districts and all-white districts do not want to combine with districts that have nonwhites. Today, we cannot, financially or socially, afford these injustices.

These communities, through planning, can voluntarily move to eradicate these ills and thus smoothly execute redistricting, or they can wait for court decisions and risk shameful conflict.

Let us assume that good will prevail.

New school districts will fan out from central cores of our cities like Detroit, and others whose base is along a river or ocean front. Or they may become vertical or horizontal strips in cities like Chicago. These areas would extend across many city and township lines.

Educational parks would replace individual school buildings. Revenue from the sale of the old prime sites could assist with the cost of the new parks. These parks would be complexes that would accommodate from twelve to twenty thousand students from kindergarten to college. The location of these parks would assure socioeconomic and racial balance.

The problems that divide communities over pupil placement would disappear. Educators and social scientists have struggled for fourteen years to find ways of integrating schools. There has been some success but the frustration has far exceeded the gain. Little Rock, Birmingham, Cleveland, Milwaukee, New York, and Boston lead a long list of cities where conflict accompanied attempts at integration. Integration has been abandoned as a way toward equality by big city ghetto communities for an emphasis on a high quality of education—separate but equalizing.

The educational park would be designed for economy, efficiency, innovation, and experimentation.

The elementary school organization would be nongraded and self-contained. The schools of River Rouge, Michigan, with their nongraded two-year blocks in the six years after kindergarten, with parent conferences in lieu of report cards, have proved significantly that children learn more and are psychologically and socially better adjusted than they were before the reorganization.

Innovations in secondary school curriculum would be built on what we learned from the Eight-Year Study, the Michigan College-Secondary Agreement, Life-Adjustment Education, and Core Curriculum. Modular scheduling, team teaching, nongraded curriculum would be supplemented by what we have learned from previously mentioned experiments.

The previous development in secondary schools placed emphasis on the affective rather than the cognitive, but by virtue of the process utilized, the cognitive did not suffer.

Sputnik changed all this. Emphasis was put on the cognitive and the affective was thrown out. Today, however, with federal support for social sciences and the humanities, we are again recognizing that feelings and social concerns pay high dividends in the learning process.

The educational park or any other organization with its advantages would demand a new theory of administration, one thoroughly grounded in what Morphet and others [4] refer to as the "collegial concept," in empathy and sensitivity.

The staff of such a program must be trained by our teacher education institutions in problem-solving techniques, human relations, and leadership skills. These must be coupled with proficiency and accountability. They must have been exposed to the sociocultural scene of America and have developed a resolution toward its unification.

Transportation and other services will be developed by the new Metropolitan Area organization.

All this sounds so simple, yet I am certain that, as one reads it, things are happening in the viscera. ☐

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[4] Edgar L. Morphet, Roe L. Johns, and Theodore L. Reller. *Educational Organization and Administration.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.

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Values and Our Destiny

KIMBALL WILES

MANY people attempt to state the values on which America's destiny rests. Each of us who thinks critically has tried to do so. As we read the news or lie awake at night thinking of the realities of the contemporary world, we find ourselves trying to decide which values will enable the United States to continue to provide leadership in the world and which will destroy the American image. What are some of the realities we face?

We live in a world confronted with the possibility of destruction. No longer do we have a complete sense of mastery of events.

Kimball Wiles. In 1964, Professor of Education, University of Florida, Gainesville, and ASCD Vice President

One night in the summer of 1962 I stood on our lanai in Honolulu and looked southwest over Diamond Head watching the sky to see the high altitude nuclear explosion at Johnston Island 800 miles away. It was my expectation that if we were able to see the blast we would see only a fireball. Instead, as the countdown was concluded, the sky turned a ghastly green, faded to a rose-pink, and then to a blood-red that covered the sky from horizon to horizon for a period of five minutes. A new radiation belt was added to the earth's atmosphere. No one could live through that experience without an increased realization of the forces released by nuclear explosions.

Two major countries hold in their hands the power to destroy the world. This responsibility was described forcefully to me by the students in my class at the University of Hawaii the morning after the Johnston Island blast. Many of them came from small countries who have little or no say in the way the two major countries will use the power for destruction that they have. These students said to me quietly, but bluntly, "We hold you responsible for our fate. Unless you discharge your responsibility with statesmanship and good judgment, any efforts we exert are futile. We need to be constantly reassured of your integrity and your leadership skill."

We live with the possibility of developing a worldwide community. Radio communication around the world is instantaneous. People in one part of the world know what others in the remainder of the world are saying. With the advent of Telstar, intercontinental communication by television is a reality. Men move easily and quickly from one part of the earth to another. Intermingling and cultural diffusion are occurring at a very rapid rate. In a very real sense the population of the entire earth has better means of communicating than the inhabitants of a state had a century ago.

Science is a central force in shaping the lives of all men now living. Through scientific investigation, forces and machines have been developed that carry within them the power to destroy freedom of choice. A given choice may lead to total destruction with no future choices possible. Many decisions are now being made by scientists without reference to the electorate—decisions that start chains of events over which the individual feels no possibility of control. Huxley stated this problem well when he said that our procedures for participation in decisions need to be revised so that individuals can see the alternatives of different choices in the scientific area and regain some of their feeling of having some control over their destiny.

Many persons find themselves confronted by forces which threaten their sense of worth. The population explosion causes some to advocate restriction of population. Others talk glibly about the destruction of hundreds of millions with the implied thought that the world would be better without these humans. Millions exist in situations where no one seems to care about their welfare or their rights. Person after person is finding that he is not worth as much in the economy as some of the technical machines that man has produced. If this continues, will society reach the point where it ceases to regard the human person as being of ultimate value?

We live in a world with vast differences in resources and the development of human potential. All of these conditions and others must be faced as we attempt to decide which are the values on which America's destiny depends.

Values and Destiny

We must begin in our thinking to attempt to put a priority on values. The consistency that we seek must be in terms of which value is our fundamental value and which other values contribute to its attainment.

Maintaining mankind: Our first value must be the continuation of the human race. If human life is blotted from the face of the earth there is no point in discussing other values.

Some will consider this statement debased. They will say, "I would rather die than live without freedom." Individuals or groups of men have made this choice. They are our heroes. There is real purpose in laying down your life for freedom if there are to be some survivors to enjoy it. Yet, if humanity is extinguished, the sacrifice is an exercise in futility. The choice today is survival through interaction and mutual modification or annihilation. We must see power as something to be used to create a situation in which people can think and plan together, rather than as a way of conquering and subjugating other peoples.

Development of the potential of each individual: Our concern must be for the development of the potential of each human being. Simply maintaining mankind is not enough. The value of the human being over other living matter lies in his potential for development. Justification for making maintenance of human existence the primary value is our dedication to provide the environment and education that will enable men to fulfill increasingly their potential for constructive and creative activity.

We are so interdependent that poor health practices in Nigeria or New Zealand, and underdeveloped technical skills and economic understanding in the Congo or Poland adversely affect individuals in the United States. No man is an island to himself. The value that we place on developing the potential of the individual, whether he be in the United States or in Indonesia, affects the destiny of America.

We must be concerned with the welfare of each person in the United States and in India and in Africa. We have been demonstrating our belief in this through the aid programs that we have provided, through the development of the Peace Corps, through our support of the Commission on Human Rights, and through our deep concern for the right of certain individuals to be enrolled in American institutions of higher learning. Yet we must see these actions as steps in our manifestation of a fundamental commitment, not as strategy in a cold war.

If America's destiny is to be one of world leadership, we must implement our concern with the development of the potential of the individual by placing a top priority on equality of opportunity. If the United States is to continue its historic tradition, we must be concerned with guarding the rights of the individual. This concern for protection of individual rights and opportunities of all individuals everywhere is the essential difference between totalitarianism and democracy. We must be concerned with the civil rights of every man, woman, and child in the United States, but we cannot stop here. To the extent that we condone alliances with governments that deny the rights of the individual, we tarnish our ideals in our own eyes and in the eyes of human beings throughout the world.

As we look back at the period since the end of World War II, it is easy to see that many of our difficulties have arisen out of our compromises of this criterion for strategic military reasons. Because we have failed to keep the torch of liberty for all burning brightly as the symbol of the American spirit, we have opened ourselves to the propaganda attacks of the Soviet Union in all of the underdeveloped countries of the world. Since we are an affluent society, at least for the main portion of our population, the difference between the average income of Americans and the average income of individuals in many regions has been glaringly apparent. Through CARE and our assistance programs, we have taken a step in the direction of demonstrating our concern for the equality of opportunity for all, but we cannot stop here. When we take our stand for equality of opportunity, we must recognize that this is now a world culture and must stand for equality of opportunity throughout the world.

A single moral community: Fundamentally, the issue on which the future of the world depends, including America's destiny, is exclusiveness or inclusiveness. If we hope to survive, we must make the inclusive approach, which accepts all men as being important and provides ways in which all cultures can participate in the creation of a world culture.

We must not attempt to get all people to accept the American culture. We must work to develop a single moral community where all possess the same fundamental rights and obligations. At present, some countries want the rights and not the obligations. Others, because they assume extra obligations, want special privileges. What we must value is an inclusive approach that will assign all men the same rights without insisting that they live by the same lights.

Objective evaluation of ideas and values: We must value and stand for freedom of thought, worship, press, and speech. These ideas are basic in our Constitution and our social ideals. They must continue to be so. There is an ever-present danger of losing the opportunity for choice of values. Our preoccupation with external danger has led us to take our lead increasingly from those we fear. Out of a desire for national defense, we have, in the name of security, permitted erosion of our fundamental values of freedom of inquiry and access to information. Unless individuals have the opportunity of stating their values and letting them stand in the common marketplace, all opportunities for improvement of the present situation will be lost. If America is to fulfill its destiny, we must continue to reaffirm and manifest our belief in these freedoms and seek them for all people.

We must see difference and the exploration of it as the doorway to new insight, not as a threat to our cherished values. The motto on the Indonesian flag is "Strength Through Difference." Unless we accept this orientation, we will be increasingly bewildered by the diffusion of cultures. We are at the point in history when we must interact with other cultures. If we assume that we must now educate the rest of the world, the result will be disastrous for us. Our values and our leadership will be rejected. Instead, we must see the interaction of peoples as the mutual seeking of more insights.

If we are to fulfill a destiny of leadership in helping to achieve a world culture, we must free our thinking of ethnocentric valuation and the impact of cultural stereotypes. We must become more open rather than more protective. We must really believe that our cultural values are worthy enough to stand in the marketplace of open examination. Our desire for inquiry must be coupled with the readiness to undergo unrestricted objective comparison. We have moved this far in the scientific field, and we think of innovators in the realm of technology as inventors and pay tribute to them. We have not gone this far in social matters. We must stop thinking of innovators in a social system as rebels or revolutionaries. We must see them as making a most valuable contribution and seek to join their ranks. We must stand for free thinking, free speech, and unrestricted objective evaluation of ideas and values.

Participation in decisions: The New England town meeting has been viewed by many as the symbol of democracy, and the right of all to express their opinion and to vote on the issues that confront the community has been a basic value in our tradition. Yet some levels of decision today are broader than the small community. Many decisions are national in scope. A community in Virginia cannot decide whether it will provide public education. A city in

Florida cannot decide what air routes a plane will fly to enter it.

As we have come closer together by improved communication and transportation, problems involve people in wider and wider geographic areas. Decisions must be made at a level that covers the entire area. Many problems are concerns of the entire earth—health, education, and nuclear warfare, to mention a few. The question, if the world continues, is not whether we will have world government. This is a certainty. The question is whether it will be a totalitarian one or a government in which people have opportunity to participate through their representatives. We need to put a primary value on participation and constantly seek a form of international government in which participation in making decisions that will affect them is a right of all individuals. To hope to achieve a world government that will incorporate this value means that we must demonstrate that it works by being sure that it functions in our schools and in every town, county, state, and national government operation.

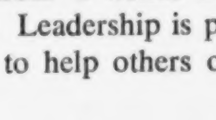
An open future: It is impossible to hold onto the past. The explosion of knowledge has been unbelievable. From 1900 to 1950 we doubled the knowledge that mankind had accumulated during all preceding centuries. From 1950 to 1960 we doubled this again, and will continue to multiply this at an increased rate in each decade of this century. We have changed from "around the world in 80 days" to "around the world in 80 minutes." We have moved into an epoch when we all die or all live together.

For many the change has produced hopeless pessimism, which has grown out of our loss of a feeling of adequacy to deal with the forces that have been unleashed by technological inquiry.

We must return to a state of optimism. We must believe that the future can be better. We must see change as progress because we can make intelligent choices and take each action as a move in the direction of our destiny. Unless a given step is final, each advance can increase our vision and make possible more intelligent planning of our future.

Unless Americans see the future as an opportunity to evolve an even better society, instead of a continuous battle to hold to the way of life we have had, we will lose our sense of destiny and our leadership. A sense of destiny comes from a belief in better things in the future. Leadership is provided by those who seek to help others obtain a better future.

These values—continuation of the human race, development of the potential of each individual, a single moral community, objective evaluation of ideas and values, participation in decisions, and an open future—may not be your list or your priority. If they are not, you should state yours as forcefully and frequently as you can. If the destiny of Americans and the world is not to be destruction, we must use the present to seek mutually the insights that will provide the opportunity for an open future. ☐



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A Strategy for Developing Values

JAMES D. RATHS

THIS paper deals with a strategy for helping children to develop their own values. Recognition of the importance of children's values has been with us for years. "A great and continuing purpose of education has been the development of moral and spiritual values" (5). With this pronouncement, the Educational Policies Commission opened its 1957 report. As important as developing values seem to be to the DAR and the VFW, to the FBI and the HUAC, the area is even more important to us as educators, it seems to me, because of its implications for the learning process. Let me briefly spell out some of these implications.

First, Kubie (12) suggests that learning is swift, spontaneous, and automatic. At times, learning is blocked—many times by what Kubie calls preconscious motives and drives. He recommends that teachers concern themselves with developing self-knowledge on their students' part to remove blocks to learning—to free children so that they may learn in a spontaneous fashion. Second, Ginsburg (7) suggests that good mental health, assumed to be a necessary condition for learning, is merely a process of living up to a set of values. Finally, several researchers, following the ideas of Louis Raths, have identified pupil behaviors associated with a lack of values (9, 11, 13, 14). These classroom behaviors, including over-conforming, indifference, flightiness, and several others, it is argued, interfere with concentration, involvement, and openness in the learning process. Therefore, value development, it seems, should be one of the many central concerns of teachers.

While the area of value development has been a major concern of educators for many years, the public and many professional people, too, have had a feeling that our efforts in this area have not been too effective. The studies summarized by Jacob in his *Changing Values in College* tend to support this hunch (8). Teachers have been unable, it seems, to translate their genuine concerns about the value problem into effective patterns of action in their classrooms.

Essentially, there are four basic approaches to the development of values current in our schools. These methods include the teaching of values by the lecture method, by the use of peer-group pressure, by finding or setting examples for children to respect and emulate, and by a reward and punishment rationale. These methods are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive of all the approaches we use in schools, but they seem to me to be among the most prevalent in our classrooms.

Methods in Use

Perhaps the most common approach is the use of lecture methods. Teachers seem ever ready to tell students what they should believe or how they ought to act. It is easy to burlesque this method in harsh tones. Actually, it may be employed by the kindest, most sincere teachers as well as by the overly

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self-righteous, would-be reformers found on some school faculties. While it is possible to cite cases in which a lecture or even a "bawling out" did bring about changes in students' values, basically this method is not too successful. Attesting to this is the common cry of many teachers—"You can't *tell* those kids anything." In general, this remark has been found to be accurate.

Teachers' judgments and convictions seem, from a student's point of view, to be out of the framework of things. (Analogously, it may be akin to the feelings teachers in the field have of the "should's and should not's" of professors from schools and colleges of education.) Jones (10) has suggested a basis for explaining the ineffectiveness of the lecture method. He states that a teacher must be emotionally accepted by his students before he can contribute much to their development of self. By their moralizing and preaching, teachers may set themselves apart emotionally from their students. To the extent that teachers are not accepted by their students, it can be presumed that they will have little effect upon students' values. Students may leave the lecture all full of enthusiasm about what the teacher said, but they may not internalize what they admire and all too often they do not.

A second approach to the value development problem has been in the main popularized by exponents of the core curriculum. During a special period of the school day, students address themselves to self-evaluations and group evaluations. They are encouraged to speak freely, frankly, and openly to the entire class judging their own behavior, criticizing group performances, and perhaps pledging themselves to future improvements. In general, such statements are accepted by the teacher with little or no comment while other pupils are free to make suggestions, recommendations, and comments.

The pressure of group approval or disapproval is a powerful force in bringing about changes in values. This method seems successful in some cases, but it has some disturbing by-products. The most distressing of these is the tacit approval by the teacher of the notion that group consensus is correct or at least worthy of very serious consideration. This method, in effect, helps develop "other-directed" persons. Another disadvantage inherent in this group technique is the passive role of the teacher. In a sense, the insight, experience, and skills of the teacher are muted. In their place, naïve students play the dominant role in value development, and they do it quite unconsciously.

A third approach for developing students' values is one of acquainting students with examples of exemplary behavior. Instances of model behavior may be drawn from history, literature, and legend or, more directly, from examples set by teachers.

Literature for all levels of schooling has been selected for the past several hundred years on the basis of the ethical and moral lessons with which it dealt. As in other methods discussed previously, some students are truly inspired by these vicarious experiences, but we have little evidence that attributes found in a student's reading are readily transferred to daily life.

Teaching values by a living example is a related tactic. Here it is assumed that "values are caught, not taught." It is argued that as teachers demonstrate values, students will learn to prize these values. Surely people have been inspired by the goodness of a teacher with whom they have had the good fortune to be associated. However, teachers, especially in secondary schools, have little opportunity to demonstrate many key values. Problems that represent the real issues of life rarely present themselves in a 50-minute subject-matter period in such a way that students can observe their teacher's handling of them. It would truly be unfortunate if we had to rely on this approach as the only positive way teachers can help youngsters develop a set of values.

A fourth method deals with indoctrination and habit formation. Here it is assumed that when students are required to follow rules and regulations, when they are punished for infractions and praised for obedience, they will take on the values associated with the requirements. We are all familiar, however, with what students do when they are free *not* to obey the rules.

It is my contention that these four methods are rather ineffective. Perhaps their relative ineffectiveness arises partially because they are based on the assumption that the knowledge of ethical and moral choices necessarily leads to ethical and moral conduct. As pointed out many years ago by John Dewey (4), this assumption has little basis in fact.

Yet more important, these methods seem intent on utilizing external factors, such as lectures or peer-group pressures, to develop values. Friedenberg (6) analyzes the current problems in developing values as follows:

> . . . it is the inner discipline that is lacking; the school fails to provide a basis for it. The undisciplined behavior which sometimes results is often a sign of the anguish which results from having no core *of one's own.* [Emphasis added.]

The most promising approach would seem to be one that attempts to help each student build his own value system. This idea is supported by Allport (2), who asserts that no teaching is more important than that which contributes to a student's self. Clearly, this statement echoes the ideas of Kubie mentioned in the opening paragraphs. Are teachers able to help children in this way?

B. O. Smith has said that teachers use little psychological knowledge beyond that found in common sense. What knowledge can we, as teachers, use in this area? Louis Raths has developed a teaching method designed to provide some direction for teachers who are interested in helping students develop their own value systems (15, 16, 17).

Use of Clarification Procedures

The teacher's role in this method is neither that of preacher nor that of passive listener. Instead the teacher strives to (a) establish a climate of psychological safety, and (b) apply a clarification procedure. An elaboration of these procedures follows.

Establishment of Psychological Safety

Nonjudgmental attitudes. It has been said that teachers have difficulty responding to an idea without saying, "That's good," "That's bad," or "What good is it?" To provide an atmosphere in which children will feel free to express themselves without threat of ridicule and derision, teachers must refrain from making harsh unnecessary judgments. Of course at times some judgments become necessary in situations in which the health and/or safety of students is threatened in any real sense.

Manifestations of concern. While the teacher may be nonjudgmental, it is important for him to be concerned with the ideas expressed by his students. If the concern is apparently lacking, then often the number of student ideas shared with a teacher tends to diminish. Perhaps students are reluctant to share their ideas with someone who is not interested in them. One of the most effective ways to show concern for a student's ideas is to *listen* to them. Busy teachers sometimes overlook this basic and effective technique for communicating interest to their students. Another method for a teacher's communicating his concern for a student's ideas is to *remember* them. As a teacher is able to cite a student's idea in a later conversation, the student cannot help but feel genuinely flattered and impressed.

Opportunities for the sharing of ideas. Teachers must organize their courses in such a way that children have the opportunity to express their opinions, purposes, feelings, beliefs, hunches, goals, and interests, about moral issues. These attitudinal-type statements may then be examined by the child who expressed them, with the teacher acting somewhat as a catalytic agent in the process. Some methods used by teachers in various researches by classroom teachers include: (a) question-answer discussion periods involving moot questions for the class to consider; (b) special written assignments; (c) role-playing techniques; (d) behavior manifestations of individuals or groups that may indicate attitudes, e.g., cheating or being tardy.

The task of finding issues that children may react to is no small problem. While our lives are filled with many, many moral and ethical questions to consider, even within our formal disciplines, it is difficult to find these issues in our textbooks or *Weekly Readers*. Alexander (1), a textbook consultant for the New York City schools, has found that "few or no serious problems" are present in our current textbooks.

Clarifying Strategies

Asking questions. The teacher may attempt to clarify the ideas elicited from his students by asking probing questions. The key criterion for selecting these questions is that they must be questions for which only the student knows the answer. Of course, to be effective they must be asked in a nonjudgmental manner. If a student seems seriously challenged by one of the questions, the teacher should make efforts to "save face" by accepting his bewilderment. For example, the teacher may pass on by saying, "That's a hard question for anyone to answer, isn't it?" "Let's think about it for a while and maybe an answer will come to us later." A list of questions that a teacher may ask is included below. Of course, this list is not exhaustive, and teachers may add to it as they become more fluent in the use of this procedure.

1. Reflect back what the student has said and add, "Is that what you mean?"
2. Reflect back what the student has said with distortions and add, "Is that what you mean?"
3. "How long have you felt (acted) that way?"
4. "Are you glad you think (act) that way?"
5. "In what way is that a good idea?"
6. "What is the source of your idea?"
7. "Should everyone believe that?"
8. "Have you thought of some alternatives?"
9. "What are some things you have done that reflect this idea of yours?"
10. "Why do you think so?"
11. "Is this what you really think?"
12. "Did you do this on purpose?"
13. Ask for definitions of key words.
14. Ask for examples.
15. Ask if this position is consistent with a previous one he has taken.

It is important that teachers ask these questions of students who express ideas with which they agree as well as of those students who express ideas with which they disagree.

Coding written work. Researchers have found the coding of written work very effective in value clarifying. Whenever students seem to express an attitude, belief, goal, purpose, interest, or aspiration, teachers may mark a V+ or V− in the margin to reflect this idea back to the student. This code works much like other more familiar codes we already use in our schools, e.g., WW for wrong word, or SP for misspelled word. There is one crucial difference. When a teacher marks WW in the margin, there usually *is* a wrong word. When a teacher marks V+ in the margin, it is understood that she is really asking, "Do you believe this?" or "Do you want to change it?"

Acceptance without judgment. It has been found that teachers feel awkward trying to draw the clarification exchange to a close. The verbal interaction between teacher and student is not to win an argument or to gain a debating point. The purpose of the exchange is to clarify students' ideas. It is important that teachers find a way to accept the students' ideas without communicating agreement or praise of them. In a sense, the exchange does not have an ending. Neither the teacher nor the student arrives at a conclusion. Neither is there a need for summarizing. Questions left unanswered are thought about and dwelt on by the student (and perhaps the teacher) at night before going to sleep, or during moments of quiet during the day. Some ways that have been found successful in closing an exchange are as follows:

1. Silence with a nod.
2. "Uh-huh."
3. "I see."
4. "I understand you better now."
5. "I can see how you would feel that way."
6. "I understand."
7. "I can see that it was difficult for you to decide that way."

In summary, the clarification procedure developed by Louis Raths attempts to elicit from students statements of an attitudinal nature and to clarify these statements for the student. By developing an emotional acceptance of himself on the part of his students, and by asking students questions which will serve to clarify their own purposes, goals, attitudes, beliefs, etc., teachers can play an effective role in developing values in their classrooms.

This procedure can be time consuming or it may also take just a few seconds. For example, consider the following hypothetical exchange:

Student: I hate math.
Teacher: You have never liked math?
Student: Well, I did like it at one time.
Teacher: What changed your mind?
Student: I don't know.
Teacher: Oh.

Without trying to lecture the student about what he "ought" to like, without preaching about the dangers inherent in not liking math, the teacher is attempting to help the student understand his own preferences and values.

In passing, it may be appropriate to add that several researches (9, 11, 13, 14) have successfully attempted to test these ideas in classrooms in New York State and Wisconsin. Other studies are needed, of course, to test further the efficacy of this procedure. The experiences of a number of researches in this field suggest also that learning to use the process of clarifying is not easy. It is clearly a difficult matter to enter into a significant interaction with a student. The problem is much less that of identifying with a student than one of identifying with the student's concerns, of listening, and of taking seriously what he has said and reacting thoughtfully to it.

It must be clear that teachers who apply the clarification procedure must have a tremendous respect for their students. As teachers agree or disagree with students' expressed ideas, they must be able to consider them as tenable ones to hold. If teachers believe it is their role to "convert" students to a "right way" of thinking, then it seems they must basically disrespect the views their students hold now. The distinction I am trying to make is one between accepting and respecting. It would seem possible for me to respect the views of a colleague, let us say, without accepting those views. This is the spirit that I believe must dominate a teacher's conversations with his students. Of course, this statement must be modified to the extent that a student's views may threaten the health or safety of himself or society. It is my contention that such cases are rare in our classrooms. Yet there is still plenty of room for many safe differences of opinion and behavior between students and teachers.

Most of us have become accustomed to the association of teaching with changes in student behavior. Too frequently, quite without being aware of it, we look for "instant" changes. We hope for miracles on the "values front." We do not pay enough attention to the fact that it took many years for our students to learn their present almost valueless behavior, and that it may take a long sustained effort to help students to develop serious purposes and aspirations through the clarifying processes. For a free society, opportunities to clarify and to choose must be created again and again.

Norman Cousins (3) has written about his concern for the predatory quality of life in human form. He suggests that what makes our society so much like a jungle is the misfits who exert power over honest men.

> There are those . . . who insist on projecting their warped ideas to the people around them. They are the agents of chaos. . . . Maybe this is what makes a jungle a jungle.

Cousins continues to say that the way out of the jungle is not just emptying it of these misfits. "There must be some notion about what is to take the place of the jungle. That is why ideals and goals are the most practical things in the world. They conquer the jungle, make men mobile, and convert humans from fawning and frightened animals into thinkers and builders." As teachers learn to develop the ideals, goals and values of students by applying the clarification procedures outlined in this paper, they may perhaps become truly "influential Americans."

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A Curriculum of Value

CHRIS BUETHE

QUESTIONS that are raised and fears that are expressed by young people who seek their own identities apparently are similar, whether in Harlem, Haight-Ashbury, or in Hobbs, New Mexico. Forms of questioning may differ between the hip urbanite and his country cousin, but the underlying problems of teens and pre-teens are much alike regardless of geographic, ethnic, or cultural differences.

The young have increased in numbers, but have not felt a corresponding increase in self-identity, security, and power. A growing technocracy continues to tell young people that there is little they can contribute to themselves or to man. Many young respond to a frustratingly complex society by "dropping out" in various ways. Perhaps they are only emulating their elders who drop out of confrontations and into escapism, out of cities and into suburbs. The young say: "Down with sham. Lead us to that which is of value."

When their elders, through the law, tell the young to attend school, the expected and deserved experience to be gained in school is a serious exposure to reality through an honest curriculum of immediate and high value. Yet the curriculum actually found in the school is too often a planned exercise in inertia instead of a confrontation with reality. One major part of the problem is the dilemma of the middle class syndrome that is described by Professor Broudy:

> We are to redeem the disadvantaged but not presumably by imposing middle-class values and demands upon them. But if one asks in what way the disadvantaged are disadvantaged, we are told they lack the means to achieve what seems suspiciously like middle-class values.[1]

As Dr. Broudy has suggested, the sources of values are varied; they are in the arts and the sciences, in diverse social classes.

It is important that curriculum leaders speak out for their beliefs in the virtues of casteless man, just as the young—in their way—stand up for ideals that they believe carry no middle or other class labels. No age group conflict should exist; the young may find a renewed security in learning that school leaders share most of their own views on what is of value.

Curriculum decision makers must choose the "new" essentials, value essentials, as the basis of school curricula. The fact that it may be difficult to agree upon a set of fundamental values as the focus of new curricula does not negate the need to define fundamental values and their supporting curricula. When the young ask "What is of value?" the older must be available to help distinguish the valuable.

One major pitfall in developing a value-based curriculum is that when the young fail to find enough values for stability, they attach themselves to the elusive norms of society. There they find themselves tread-

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[1] Harry S. Broudy. "Art, Science, and New Values." *Phi Delta Kappan* 49 (3): 115; November 1967.

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ing in a kind of quicksand of popular behaviors.[2]

Yet curriculum specialists may resist the development of a curriculum that is purposely based upon a set of value statements. Perhaps they do so because of the overemphasis upon objectivity that is the curse of their professionalism. Do educationists, like the other social scientists who were recently criticized in *Saturday Review*'s Education Supplement,[3] set themselves up as amoral technicians who regard value judgments as "unprofessional"?

In the view of this writer, value judgments *are* being made by educators. Such judgments are made, for example, when they decide *not* to include in the curriculum opportunities for experiences that are thought to be too mature, too controversial, or too frivolous for the young.

Components of a Value Curriculum

What would a value-oriented curriculum be like? How would a "value" curriculum differ from the usual discipline-oriented curriculum? The following is an attempt to define representative elements of such a curriculum by beginning with the questions, "What do young people value?" and "What do they feel a need to know?"

As a start, the young value life, idealism, sexuality, themselves, and others. They want to know who they are and what alternate routes they may chart for their lives. They want to compare "truths" and values with others, not to avoid these. A valid curriculum for young people is one that directly approaches the questions of their age and time.

Major portions of a value-based curriculum should focus upon:

1. *Self-knowledge.* Knowledge of emotions, talents, drives, and needs. This includes an attempt to build one's own mental health survival kit, to learn to give and to accept love and respect.

2. *Living and dying.* The apparent meaning of life plus guesses about the "leap into the dark." Comparative religion studies are a must for public schools. It is important to know what words and ideas lead and sustain people of differently labeled faiths.

3. *The cooperation-competition spectrum.* Comparative studies of Eastern and Western customs, language, literature, and thought not only help a student to see his own identity by way of contrasts (e.g., who he is *not*), but also reveal the knowledge that is needed in order to exist on this planet with those who are different. "Alternatives to War" would be a starkly appropriate label for a section of the curriculum.

4. *Sexuality and family responsibility.* Attempts at sex education as a high school instructional unit in physical education, biology, or home room are distressingly inadequate when the breadth and importance of sexuality are considered. Like the other facets of the value-based curriculum, this one should encompass all grade levels and most faculties.

5. *Future orientation.* The conservation of natural, including human, resources is too important to be left principally in the hands of club sponsors, and merits special emphasis (e.g., waste control should be taught by schools as well as by Ralph Nader and television news staffs).

6. *Growth of American technocracy.* Examples of bigness in government, urban sprawls, media, data handling, productivity, and economics lead to Orwellian value-laden questions about our country that should have ample consideration in the schools.

7. *Self-discipline.* This is, of course, what schools have always claimed to be about—to give each student a start on an adaptive path that he will be willing and able to follow on his own after graduation. Yet this may be judged to be the area most needing improvement when the behaviors of graduates are considered.

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[2] Eugene F. McKibbon. "Touching Base With Our Youth." *School and Society* 95 (2296): 424-25; November 11, 1967.

[3] Peter Schrag. "Voices in the Classroom." *Saturday Review* 51 (7): 63; February 17, 1968.

The partial list here may be labeled as rather idealistic, but the school should be a bastion of idealism. It is critical that the curriculum be flexible enough to include topics based upon the serious questions of students. Teachers should be encouraged to explain, but not to sell, their personal values. They should not be asked to wear the impossible mask of classroom neutrality that is usually called for today.

Evaluating Results

How can the effectiveness of a value-based curriculum be judged? As with any curriculum, the proof exists in the product. The product that should be observed most closely is the school graduate who has spent some years being directed by his own internal guidance system.

Examples of behavior-revealing questions that should be asked of the school's graduates are these:

—With respect to sexuality and family roles:

1. How do marriage and divorce rates compare to those of graduates of traditional curricula?
2. What is the record in terms of pregnancy outside marriage, venereal disease, and paternity cases?
3. As a measure of responsibility for children, what percent of the graduates' children leads to a critically low ratio of real income per child?

—With respect to human conservation:

1. What are the current incidence counts of tobacco, alcohol, and drug use?
2. How many times per day is sufficient exercise pursued to make the heart pound?

—With respect to self-knowledge and mental health:

1. What do standardized test scales tell us of the graduate's personal qualities and adjustment?
2. What is the graduate's history to date on incidence of health needs or referrals?
3. How does employment status relate to measured traits?

School graduates can be asked many other questions that will yield quantitative indicators of behavior. Behavioral patterns for graduates of value-based and traditionally-based curricula can then be compared. It would be expected that such research would show that schools can teach toward behaviorally-defined value-laden goals.

It is time for this nation's curriculum leaders to identify their profession with value definitions leading to value-oriented curricula. The young, as the human products of the schools, deserve nothing less than the set of opportunities for school experiences judged to be of most human value. ☐

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Teaching Without Specific Objectives

JAMES D. RATHS

A CENTRAL issue in the curriculum field is the dilemma, perhaps oversimplified, between *discipline* and *freedom.* Lawrence S. Kubie stated it most clearly:

> To put the question even more specifically, the educator must ask, "How can I equip the child with the facts and the tools which he will need in life, without interfering with the freedom with which he will be able to use them after he has acquired them?" We have learned that both input-overload through the excessive use of grill and drill, and input-underload through excessive permissiveness, may tumble the learner into the same abyss of paralysis and ignorance (1).

The aim of this paper is to argue that by accepting the basic assumption that the *primary* purpose of schooling is to change the behavior of students in specific predetermined ways, schools are only making the problem defined by Kubie more acute. In addition, this paper asserts that activities may be justified for inclusion in the curriculum on grounds other than those based on the efficacy of the activity for specifically changing the behaviors of students. It is also proposed that schools, while accepting a minimum number of training responsibilities, should take as their *major* purpose one of involving students in activities which have no preset objectives, but which meet other specified criteria.

Teaching for Behavioral Objectives

Regardless of the underlying bases on which curricula are selected for inclusion in a program, a major problem is that of justifying the activities children are asked to experience. Clearly, the selection process always involves subjective and value-related judgments.

Consider the junior high school teacher of science in his efforts to defend the behavioral objectives of his program. He may argue that a particular objective is justified on the grounds that it is related to student success in senior high school; that the objective has traditionally been taught as a part of the curriculum; that it reflects the behavior of scientists and as such is important to his students; or, more simply, that the objective is "in the book." None of these justifications, either singly or collectively, seems especially convincing.

The problem is seen most clearly in the affective domain. Lay persons and professionals alike have long asked, "What values should be taught?" Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (2) have argued that one reason which partially accounts for the erosion of affective objectives in our schools is that teachers hesitate to impose values on their students through the lever of giving grades. On the other hand, teachers seem to feel that manipulating students in the cognitive domain is ethical. For instance, a science teacher may want his students to acquire behaviors associated with the scientific method. Manifestly, there is no one scientific method, just as there is no one view of justice, yet teachers seem to feel no compunction about "forcing" students to learn the scientific

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method they have in mind while shying away from teaching one view of justice.

It is important in terms of the central thesis of this paper to consider the long range implications a teacher and his students must accept once it has been decided that all students are to acquire a specific instructional objective. The teacher's task becomes at once difficult and tedious. He must inform his students of the objective to which they are expected to aspire; he must convince them of the relevance of this objective to their lives; he must give students the opportunity to practice the behavior being taught; he must diagnose individual difficulties encountered by members of his group; he must make prescriptions of assignments based on his diagnoses and repeat the cycle again and again. Needless to say, this "method" of instruction has proved itself effective, if not provocative. It is the training paradigm perfected during both World Wars and utilized extensively in the armed forces and in industry to prepare persons for specific responsibilities.

It is the rare teacher who implements this procedure with the precision implied by the foregoing description. Few teachers have the energy, the knowledge important for making diagnoses, the memory needed to recall prescriptions, or the feedback capabilities of a computer. The ultimate training program is the research-based IPI model used experimentally in a few schools throughout the country. This observation is not meant to fault teachers as a group but merely to observe that in terms of the ways schools are organized, for example, teacher-student ratios, availability of special technical assistance, etc., only the most gifted and dedicated teachers can offer an effective training procedure to students. So instead of a rigorous training paradigm, most students are presented with "grill and drill" techniques, as cited by Kubie, repetitious to some and meaningless to others. Yet even if all programs could be set up on the basis of behavioral objectives and even if strict training paradigms could be established to meet the objectives, who could argue that such a program would be other than tedious and ultimately stultifying? This last comment applies both to the students and to the teacher. Usually, teaching for objectives is dull work. Most of the student responses are familiar ones and are anticipated by a teacher who is fully aware of the range of possible problems students might meet in acquiring the behavior. Hopefully, both teachers and students aspire to something other than this.

Teaching Without Specific Objectives

To suggest that teachers plan programs without specific instructional objectives seems to fly in the face of many sacred beliefs—those dealing with progress, efficiency, success, and even rationality. On the other hand, such a proposal evidently does not fly in the face of current practices. Much to the distress of empiricists (3, 4), teachers do from time to time invite children to participate in activities for which specific behavioral objectives are rarely preset. Examples of some of these activities include taking field trips, acting in dramatic presentations, having free periods in school, participating in school governments, putting out a class newspaper, and many others. While teachers evidently hope that students, as individuals, will acquire learnings from these activities, the learnings are generally not preset nor are they imposed on all the children in the class.

Instead, teachers may intend that these activities will provide students with some of the skills they will need in life, either through the direct experience they undergo in the classroom in carrying out the activity or through subsequent follow-up activities. In addition, teachers learn to expect that some children will become bored with any single activity—whatever it is. This response can be found in most classrooms at any one time and teachers simply make plans to involve those students suffering from momentary ennui in other provocative activities later in the day or week.

While carrying out a program composed of such activities, a teacher must perform many important and difficult tasks, but the functions seem less perfunctory and more challenging than those carried out under the training regimen described previously. A teacher must listen to the comments and questions of his students with the intent of clarifying their views and perceptions; he must encourage students to reflect upon their experiences through writings, poetry, drawings, and discussions; he must react to their responses in ways that suggest individual activities students may consider in following up on their experiences. In these ways, teachers provide an environment that is sufficiently evocative to encourage children to become informed and capable, but in individual ways that would be difficult to anticipate either in the central offices of a board of education or in the test construction laboratories located at Palo Alto or Iowa City.

Criteria for Worthwhile Activities

If we accept the argument that the major focus of our schools should be away from activities designed to bring about specific behavioral changes in students, then on what basis can activities be justified for inclusion in the curricula of our schools? This section advances some criteria for identifying activities that seem to have some inherent worth. The criteria set down here for identifying worthwhile activities are not advanced to convince anyone of their wisdom as a set or individually, but merely to suggest value statements that might be used to justify the selection of particular activities in a curriculum.

The value statements are couched in terms that can best be used in the following manner. As a teacher contemplates an activity for his classroom, each of the value statements may suggest ways the activity might be altered. For instance, if a teacher were to consider an assignment which requires students to write a report on Brazil, he might revise his assignment to include one or more of the value dimensions suggested by the criteria. With all other things being equal, the revised assignment would be considered, according to these criteria, more worthwhile than the original one

A relevant question to raise at this point is, "Worthwhile for whom?" The answer necessarily is for the child and for society. While there can be no empirical support for this response, neither can any other activity or behavioral objective be justified through data.

1. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it permits children to make informed choices in carrying out the activity and to reflect on the consequences of their choices.*

An activity that requires children to select topics for study, resources for use, or media for the display of ideas, after some exploration of alternatives, is more worthwhile than one that provides children with no opportunities or another that gives choices at rather mundane levels, for example, a choice of now or this afternoon, or using a pen or pencil.

2. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it assigns to students active roles in the learning situation rather than passive ones.*

An activity that channels students' energies into such roles as panel members, researchers, orators, observers, reporters, interviewers, actors, surveyors, performers, role players, or participants in simulation exercises such as games is more worthwhile than one which assigns students to tasks such as listening in class to the teacher, filling out a ditto sheet, responding to a drill session, or participating in a routine teacher-led discussion.

3. *All other things being equal, one ac-*

tivity is more worthwhile than another if it asks students to engage in inquiry into ideas, applications of intellectual processes, or current problems, either personal or social.

An activity that directs children to become acquainted with ideas that transcend traditional curricular areas, ideas such as truth, beauty, worth, justice, or self-worth; one that focuses children on intellectual processes such as testing hypotheses, identifying assumptions, or creating original pieces of work which communicate personal ideas or emotions; or one that raises questions about current social problems such as pollution, war and peace, or of personal human relations is more worthwhile than one that is directed toward places (Mexico or Africa), objects (birds or simple machines), or persons (Columbus or Shakespeare).

4. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it involves children with realia.*

An activity that encourages children to touch, handle, apply, manipulate, examine, and collect real objects, materials, and artifacts either in the classroom or on field trips is more worthwhile than one that involves children in the use of pictures, models, or narrative accounts.

5. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if completion of the activity may be accomplished successfully by children at several different levels of ability.*

An activity that can be completed successfully by children of diverse interests and intellectual backgrounds is more worthwhile than one which specifies in rigid terms only one successful outcome of the activity. Examples of the former are thinking assignments such as imagining, comparing, classifying, or summarizing, all of which allow youngsters to operate on their own levels without imposing a single standard on the outcomes.

6. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it asks students to examine* in a new setting *an idea, an application of an intellectual process, or a current problem which has been previously studied.*

An activity that builds on previous student work by directing a focus into *novel* locations, *new* subject matter areas, or *different* contexts is more worthwhile than one that is completely unrelated to the previous work of the students. (This position is an example of one that is impossible to build into every activity presented to students. Obviously a balance is needed between new areas of study and those which are related to previous work. Value dimension number six asserts the need for some continuity in a program.)

7. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it requires students to examine topics or issues that citizens in our society do not normally examine—and that are typically ignored by the major communication media in the nation.*

An activity that deals with matters of sex, religion, war and peace, the profit motive, treatment of minorities, the workings of the courts, the responsiveness of local governments to the needs of the people, the social responsibilities of public corporations, foreign influences in American media, social class, and similar issues is more worthwhile than an activity which deals with mundane "school topics" such as quadratic equations or short stories—topics usually considered safe and traditional.

8. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it involves students and faculty members in "risk" taking—not a risk of life or limb, but a risk of success or failure.*

Activities that may receive criticism from supervisors and parents on the basis of "what's usually done," that may fail because of unforeseen events or conditions, are more worthwhile than activities that are relatively risk-free—using approaches which are condoned openly by the community and the school administration and which have served teachers well in the past.

9. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it requires students to rewrite, rehearse, and polish their initial efforts.*

Rather than having students perceive assignments as "tasks to complete," activities should provide time and opportunity for students to revise their themes in the light of criticism, rehearse a play in front of an audience, or practice an interviewing technique to be used in a project so that they will begin to see the value of doing a task well. Activities that communicate to students that their efforts are approximations of perfect work—and that efforts can be made to improve their work—are more worthwhile than ones that merely suggest that once an assignment is completed the first time, it is finished.

10. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it involves students in the application and mastery of meaningful rules, standards, or disciplines.*

Using standards derived from students as well as authorities, panel discussions can be disciplined by procedures; reporting of data can be disciplined by considerations of control; essays can be regulated by considerations of style and syntax. Activities which foster a sense of meaningful discipline, either imposed or chosen by the children themselves, are more worthwhile than ones that ignore the need for the application of meaningful rules or standards.

11. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it gives students a chance to share the planning, the carrying out of a plan, or the results of an activity with others.*

One facet of the current trends in individualizing instruction found in some programs is that of minimizing the chance for children to work in groups and to learn the problems inherent in any situation that calls for individual desires to yield at times to group requirements. An activity that asks children to play a role in sharing responsibilities with others is more worthwhile than one which limits such opportunity.

12. *All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it is relevant to the expressed purposes of the students.*

While a prizing of children's purposes might well be protected by the value dimension previously expressed, of providing choices for children, it is important enough to stress in a value dimension of its own. As students are invited to express their own interests and to define problems in which they feel a personal involvement, and as the activities of the curriculum reflect those interests, the ensuing activity will be more worthwhile than one that is based on attributions of interests and concerns made by teachers.

Obviously, not all of the value components identified in this section can be built into a single activity. Also, not all the values listed deserve the same amount of emphasis in terms of time within a given program. For example, some assignments involving "risk" may be titillating for students and teachers, but a program which has more than a few activities reflecting the "risk" value would probably be out of balance. Finally, the list above is not exhaustive. It is meant to illustrate values that might be used in defining a program of worthwhile activities. The value-criteria are merely working hypotheses at this time, subject to analysis if not empirical testing. Others are encouraged to develop their own set of criteria.

Caveat

It must be emphasized that all teachers, whether working at the first grade level or in graduate school, generally need to do some teaching for objectives as well as some teaching without specific objectives. Whitehead has suggested that in terms of the rhythm of education, many more of the tasks assigned to younger children should be justified on non-instrumental values, while those assigned at the upper levels might reasonably contain more performance-related activities (5).

Evaluation

All of the foregoing is not to suggest that school programs need not be evaluated. As in the past, those activities which are justified in terms of the objectives they are designed to meet can be evaluated through criterion-referenced achievement tests. Other procedures need to be developed to describe school programs in terms of the characteristics of the activities which comprise the programs. The following procedure might serve as a way of communicating information about a given course or program which would be meaningful to administrators and parents.

Assume that a teacher accepted as the major values of his program those previously identified in this paper. (Presumably, this procedure could be used for any set of values.) He could periodically describe his program using a chart similar to the one presented in Table 1. The chart could be completed according to the following ground rules:

Column 1: This column would simply number the activity for purposes of identification.

Column 2: This notation would place the activity in the sequence of activities carried out during the reporting period.

Column 3: This entry would be another way of labeling the topics under study for purposes of identification.

Column 4: The number of students who successfully completed the activity would be entered here to communicate the extent to which all students in the class were involved with the activity.

Column 5: To give emphasis to the centrality of the activity to the scope of the course, the estimation of the average number of hours students spent on the activity would be entered in this column.

Column 6: In this column, teachers would check those components of the activity which in their eyes serve to justify it in their program. In the example entered in the table, the teacher has justified an activity, not in terms of what students can do on finishing it that they could not do before, but on the grounds that it gave students a chance to make a choice (#1); involved them in active roles (#2); included experiences with realia (#4); provided various levels of achievement which could be judged as successful (#5); and required students to apply meaningful standards to their work (#10).

If each line of every teacher's log were punched on a computer card, a program

Subject: .... Teacher's Name: .... Unit: .... Dates: From .... To ....

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)											
Activity number	Dates	Title of activity	Number of students completing activity	Estimated number of hours of participation per student	Justified by criteria (Check those relevant)											
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Jan. 8	Experiment with electricity	15	2 hrs.	x	x		x	x					x		

Table 1. Teacher's Log

could easily be written which would yield output describing the percentage of time spent on each activity, and the number of children who were involved with programs under each value dimension. At present, no generalizations are available which could be used to rate definitively a given course description as adequate or inadequate, based on these data. Nevertheless, if a science program profile indicated that almost no time was spent with students in active roles, if students were almost never involved with realia, and if students had few opportunities to apply meaningful rules or standards to their work, then a person sharing the values espoused in this paper would have serious reservations about the quality of that particular science program.

In summary, the argument has been presented that an activity can be justified in terms other than those associated with its instrumental value for changing the behavior of students. In addition, this paper has presented a set of criteria for identifying worthwhile activities, proposed a modest procedure for describing programs in terms of those criteria, and issued an invitation for others to present alternative criteria. Most of all, it has asked that some concern be directed toward the quality of opportunities for experiences offered through our schools.

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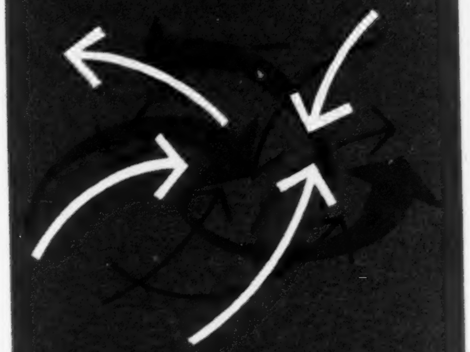

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INDIVIDUALIZATION: THE PUPIL AS PERSON

The time has come to accept individual differences in children as a reality and to work with them without trying to blame them on anyone or to feel guilty that they exist. Resistance to easy modifiability is man's insurance of stability, and the possibility of change his hope for the future. Individual differences among people are a precious asset. A constructive program to meet them promises large returns. Olson, p. 37.

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Individualized Instruction*

ALEXANDER FRAZIER

You must know what you want to hear.
—EDWIN ZILZ [1]

When poets repair to the enchanted forest of language it is with the express purpose of getting lost; far gone in bewilderment, they seek crossroads of meaning, unexpected echoes, strange encounters; they fear neither detours, surprises, nor darkness.—PAUL VALERY [2]

FOR half a century we have been committed to individualized instruction as the answer to the problem of how to teach everybody what everybody needs to know. Yet only now have we been able to put together the elements that will enable us to act on our conviction with the prospect of success.

Elements of Success

Here are some of these elements:

1. *Goals.* We have revived mastery as a goal. No longer is it possible, politically or professionally, to accommodate our behavior to inequities assumed to be beyond our control. Inside as well as around the school, an increasing number of tough-minded persons are demanding that where the road to mastery can be laid down, we must succeed in teaching what there is to be learned.

2. *Nature of the learner.* We now believe that learners start out with much less difference in capacity than we once thought. If at any given point in time learners seem unequal, it means that native capacity has not been properly developed, perhaps that we did not get to some of them early enough, or that we do not yet know how to tap the capacity that is there. At any rate, the idea that capacity is fixed is much in question. Some people are saying, "Don't tell us about their IQ or their home background or anything else. Just tell us what you want them to learn, and leave the rest to us."

3. *Content analysis.* We know better what to teach. Part of our problem has been that we have sometimes tried to teach what is untrue or incomplete and therefore very hard to learn. The more scientific analysis of the nature of knowledge that has come out of the emphasis on its structure is promising to help us identify what is learnable. The teaching of modern languages has been revolutionized by the reexamination of content as well as by the redefinition of the goal as mastery. The teaching of mathematics and of science are being similarly affected. As we learn how to put the pieces together again in our competing analyses of beginning reading, we may anticipate that we will be increasingly successful in teaching the first steps of that

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[1] *How To Whistle Songs: An Easy, Enjoyable Guide to Beautiful Whistling.* Los Angeles: The Stanton Press, 1961. p. 19.

[2] Jackson Mathews, editor. *The Collected Works of Paul Valery.* Volume 13. *Aesthetics.* Translated by Ralph Manheim. Bollingen Series 45. New York: Bollingen Foundation. Copyright © 1964. p. 48. By permission of the Bollingen Foundation and Princeton University Press.

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most complex and mysterious set of learnings.

4. *Materials.* We have discovered how to prepare materials that are much more studyable. These materials are precise and detailed and geared directly to eliciting the responses needed for learning, much more so than anything we would have been able to imagine in the past as possible, necessary, or perhaps desirable. A recent brochure[3] on 20 programs designed to teach pieces or segments of knowledge describes the reusable booklets as containing "ten short sets of 25-50 frames, each designed to be worked in 15 or 30 minutes." The booklets have been developed in terms of two conditions: "(1) satisfactory terminal behavior (mastery of the subject) and (2) an error rate of less than 10 percent." Topics for which programs are available include "Cells: Their Structure and Function," "Latitude and Longitude," and "Figures of Speech."

5. *Methodology.* We now know how to provide a one-to-one relationship between teacher and pupil. For a long time, we have used as a kind of symbol of individualized instruction the apocryphal image of a student on one end of a log and Mark Hopkins on the other. Now we are faced with the prospect of having a student on one end of the line and, by computer, who knows whom on the other. That part of the problem of individualizing instruction represented by the need for providing a one-to-one correspondence of teacher and learner, however eerie or unearthly or unheavenly their relationship may strike us as likely to be, is resolved.

6. *Evaluation.* We can keep track of independent learning better than before. One of the chief worries in individualizing instruction has been to find out when help was needed and in general to check on progress among 25 to 30 learners working independently. The new care in spelling out specific objectives; the elaboration of study materials, with built-in feedback of some kind to the learner; and now the computer—all have helped or will help to make the flow of evaluative information not only continuous but, in terms of quantity and precision, more than we can handle. In fact, in some situations, clerks are being employed to manage and control the flow so that it will become most useful.

7. *Organization.* We have solved the problem of organizing for individualized instruction. The matter of grouping learners for individualized instruction has been the one element of the problem above all others to which we have been historically most attentive. We have tried anything and everything. Now, however, we have suddenly found ourselves with a choice of alternatives, partly perhaps because of our inventiveness but also because other elements in the problem have been clarified.

We can organize our pupils in relationship to successive levels of progress through a well-defined sequence of study materials. Or we can organize them in larger units of 100 or so, with an augmented staff and plenty of open space, and leave the internal grouping and scheduling to the teaching staff. Or we can run students through study or learning centers more or less at random, leaving their assignments and supervision to whoever is in charge of their stations. In the latter case, where for a portion of the day the learner is working on his own with programmed materials or working under the tutelage of a remote computer, grouping is merely a question of housing.

Source of Discomfort

How surprised we are, when we view the present situation in this way, to find that we really have triumphed over the problem of how to teach everybody what they need to know. We can truthfully say that when it comes to the education of the whistler, we know what we want to hear. And we can teach just about anybody to whistle "Yankee Doodle" or "Dixie."

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[3] Coronet Learning Programs. "20 Learning Programs from Coronet." Chicago: Coronet Learning Programs. 4 pp.

Still, we may wonder at what we have paid or seem willing to pay for the prospect of such success. We know, when we think of the realm in which success is to be expected, that in order to succeed we have altered our conception of what education is all about, limited it, reduced it, fundamentalized it.

Thus, we are at this moment uneasy. To some zealots of the new era, it would seem right and proper that the realm of what everybody needs to know should be extended to everything that anybody might ever want to learn. They seem to be saying that if we can, through the use of this process of instruction, succeed with a piece of the program, why not move ahead to all of it?

Yet while we may be surprised that anybody would conceive of the total curriculum as lending itself to such treatment, most of us are puzzled by and apprehensive about something much more likely to be hard to accept. We believe we can trust to the general good sense to take care of excesses of zeal in the routinization of teaching. But are we ourselves ready to assume responsibility for redesigning our program to provide more adequately for the larger aspects of learning that successful routinization of the facts and skills segment is going to give us?

We have had to spend so much time on this segment in the past that we have not done what we would have liked with the rest of the curriculum. Now the prospect of success in teaching the facts and skills means that we will have the time and space to do more with the rest.

What we are faced with, at the prospect of success in individualizing instruction, is the necessity of redeveloping the curriculum. What is involved in this task? The first thing is to clarify the differences between the lesser and the larger learnings in terms of the elements already defined.

Goals. For the larger learnings, the goal is not mastery. There is no reachable end-point on the way to which highly specific steps or objectives can be spelled out. Continuous growth is the goal.

Nature of the learner. The question of equality of capacity is not central since mastery is not the goal. What is of concern is "an ability, a power . . . the possibility of growth." [4]

Content analysis. With the emphasis on the development of powers or their growth, analysis of what needs to be learned is very different here. It is concerned with the nature of the process through which powers develop.

Materials. The total environment is of greater concern than any piece of material. The concern is for richness and diversity rather than precision.

Methodology. Powers are personal. Their growth comes necessarily from individual use. The concern is to provide many opportunities for their responsible exercise.

Evaluation. Since growth or "carrying power forward" [5] is the goal, evaluation is concerned with the individual rather than the group and is likely to be seen in global rather than concrete terms.

Organization. While room needs to be made to ensure independent functioning, many personal powers require the presence of others in the picture for their proper development. The isolation booth is an inappropriate site for the larger learnings.

Now such a contrast serves to make plain that we are still dealing with individualization of instruction. However, here we talk of the person and of his powers and of their growth. At this point it might be useful if we were to propose two definitions for the individualization of instruction: (a) the individualization of instruction *that leads to the achievement of mastery in the lesser learnings;* and (b) the individualization of instruction *that leads to the development or growth of power in the larger learnings.* The former aims at success despite individual differences; the latter aims at success in terms of individual differences, perhaps actually seeking to extend them toward a greater range of human variability, at least in all the generally desired directions or arenas of growth.

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[4] John Dewey. *Democracy and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916. p. 49.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

But the distinction attempted in these definitions may still strike us as abstract and poorly expressed. What we may need in addition is the exemplification of the larger learnings. If we are going to have to redevelop the curriculum to make good use of the newly vacated time and space, what are we going to be trying to do? The growth of which personal powers are we to try to forward? What is the nature of the realm of the larger learnings?

Realm of the Larger Learnings

Perhaps what we are moving into now is the education of the poet as compared to the education of the whistler.

"I believe in individuals." [6] This is the way Anton Chekhov responded to a correspondent inquiring about his politics. "I see salvation in a few people living their own private lives," he continued, "scattered throughout Russia—whether they be intellectuals or muzhiks, the power is in them, though they are few." Elsewhere Chekhov, whom we may take to stand for the poet, defined the realm of personal powers: "My holy of holies is the human body, health, intelligence, talent, inspiration, love, and the most absolute freedom—freedom from violence and lying, whatever forms they may take. This is the program I would follow if I were a great artist." [7]

Let us try to say what such larger learnings are, and, with more attention from us, might be.

Physical Being

We may begin with the power of physical being. If we had more time and space in the curriculum to attend to physical growth and development, what might that mean?

For one thing, it would encompass but go far beyond mastery of skills, although skills would certainly be there—skills of walking and running, of throwing and catching, of surfing and sailing, of skiing and hiking and dancing. Information would have its place also, of course—about diet and safety, physical structure and function, drugs and diseases.

But in our enlarged program, much more time and space would be provided for free play, for self-chosen games, dancing, swimming, and gymnastics; and for loafing—for refreshment and relaxation. The environment would be designed for physical functioning and physical freedom all day long—and the school would extend its responsibility to outdoor sites for hiking, camping, pack trips; for visits to the mountains but also to the desert and the beach.

The expanded program would focus on more opportunities for physical development, for enjoying the exercise of physical power and for experiencing the world through the body, including not only the natural world (air breathed in deep, the feel of sun and wind and rain) but the world of other persons—through racing, tagging, wrestling, helping up, forming circles, teaming up, pairing off.

We have never had time really to celebrate the physical powers and their growth and development. Now we well may have.

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[6] Anton Chekhov. *The Personal Papers of Anton Chekhov.* Introduction by Matthew Josephson. New York: Lear Publishers, Inc., 1948. "Letter to I. I. Orlov, 1899." pp. 194-95.

[7] *Ibid.,* "Letter to A. N. Pleshcheyev, October 1889." p. 154.

Sensibility

"Experience is never limited, and it is never complete," begins Henry James, in his famous definition of what it means to be fully conscious of one's own existence; "it is an immense sensibility, a kind of huge spider-web of the finest silken threads suspended in the chamber of consciousness, and catching every airborne particle in its tissue." This mechanism of sensibility "takes to itself the faintest hints of life, it converts the very pulses of the air into revelations." Such sensibility is "the power to guess the unseen from the seen, to trace the implication of things, to judge the whole piece by the pattern, the condition of feeling life in general so completely that you are well on your way to knowing any particular corner of it. . . .[8]

Education of the power or powers of sensibility—of responding fully to experience, of being thoroughly conscious of the world about one in all its manifold meanings—incorporates mastery of certain skills and information, it is true. Being able to identify the structure of the cell or the figures of speech may help. But the development of the powers of consciousness and responsiveness necessarily comes through many encounters with rich, raw experience and the chances one has to respond to these encounters, the demands made upon awareness.

The message of Marshall McLuhan is highly relevant here. We live in an image-bearing environment so rank and dense with multi-layered meanings that we must learn to respond to it all at once. Today the school is often less stimulating than the out-of-school environment, more restricted, blander, relatively impoverished.

What would the school look like to the learner if it were designed to be experienced as were the exhibits of Brussels and of Expo '67?

What kinds of new and specific learnings would be needed if we were to value responsiveness to the broader environment in terms of the visual arts—graphic arts but also sculpture, architecture, landscaping, and town planning? If we were to take films and television seriously? If we wanted to increase awareness and enjoyment of the world of music old and new, Eastern as well as Western?

If we were to venture deeply into the realms of human awareness outside the arts—the world of feelings and values personally expressed, the verbal and nonverbal clues to feelings and values?

What changes in environment, what additions to specific learnings, the inclusion of what kinds of in- and out-of-school experiences for the exercise and development of sensibility might we have if we were to redesign the curriculum to make use of new time and space for this field of larger learning?

Love

How does one learn to love? It is something that can hardly be spelled out, detailed, programmed. Yet the power to empathize, reach out, relate, identify with, to seek community of some kind in increasingly wider circles is surely among the larger learnings with which we will want to do more as we make good use of our new time and space.

Perhaps love as we are thinking of it begins with simple wonder at and respect for the force of life. Marian Catlin in Wallace Stegner's new novel, *All the Little Live Things,* represents such an aspect of love. Cancer-ridden and pregnant, hoping to live to bear another child, she expresses, through her care that nothing living be uprooted or destroyed, an obsession with life, an obsessive love. Her husband, an ethnologist, mentions that the baby California gray whale gains a ton a month, and the narrator wonders: "What in *hell* is in whale's milk?" Looking back after Marian's death and recalling that metaphor for her agonizing effort to survive with her baby's birth, the narrator supposes her to be saying to him: "You wondered what was in whale's milk. Now you know. Think of the force down there, just telling things to get born, just to be!"[9] The narrator, an old man aroused from what he comes to call a "twilight sleep" of detached retirement, would amend her feeling—but it remains as a symbol of love.

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[8] Morton Dauwen Zabel, editor. *The Portable Henry James.* New York: The Viking Press, 1951. "The Art of Fiction." pp. 401-402.

And love extends to and encompasses death as well as birth. In grieving over and reflecting on his mother's death at 80, Sean O'Casey[10] comforts himself by seeing her as having passed into the endless stream.

> It wouldn't do to say that each differed from each in some trivial, imperceptible way, blade of grass from blade of grass; leaf of tree from leaf of tree; human face from human face. Who is he who having examined each blade of grass, every leaf of every tree, would say no one of them was like its like? And though human faces might differ, and did, the darkness of hatred, the light of love, the glint of fear, the lightning flash of courage shone the same from every human eye, and the thoughts surrounding them were, in essence, the same in every human heart.

Between the emergence of life and its extinction or translation lies the great range of occasions for valuing and supporting others and expressing love in its many guises. Is this a field in which our power needs to be extended and strengthened? With time enough and space, what more can be done with love in the redeveloped curriculum?

Invention

For the poet, the power to shape and reshape his experience is that which he needs most of all to test and extend. What Sartre says of the meaning of history, the poet would say of the meaning of life: ". . . the problem is not to *know* its objective, but to *give* it one."[11]

While there are specific and lesser learnings that need to be there to be called upon, the development of the power to deal creatively with fresh experience, to search it out (to "seek crossroads of meaning, unexpected echoes, strange encounters"), and to work with it (fearing "neither detours, surprises, nor darkness") until it yields a union of form and substance—this kind of development depends on openness to new experience and a great freedom of experiencing. When what is to be known is all laid out for the learner, the power of invention gets little enough exercise.

Providing in the new curriculum more time and space for richer experiencing that will stimulate the learner to alter or amend, compose, design, discover, recast, reorder, shape, and reshape his world would seem extremely important.

Endurance

Grace Norton, a friend of Henry James, who in his words seemed to "make all the misery of all the world" her own (she "suffered," as they said then), received a letter of consolation from James under the date July 28, 1883:

> Sorrow comes in great waves . . . but it rolls over us, and though it may almost smother us it leaves us on the spot, and we know that if it is strong we are stronger, inasmuch as it passes and we remain. It wears us, uses us, but we wear it and use it in return; and it is blind, whereas we after a manner see.[12]

Years later, James wrote to Henry Adams, who had sent him a "melancholy outpouring" of "unmitigated blackness" about their being "lone survivors": "I still find my consciousness interesting—under *cultivation* of the interest." And he suggests that perhaps this survival of interest comes "because I am that queer monster, the artist, an obstinate finality, an inexhaustible sensibility." [13]

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[9] Wallace Stegner. *All the Little Live Things.* New York: The Viking Press, 1967. pp. 66, 344.

[10] Sean O'Casey. *Inishfallen: Fare Thee Well.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. p. 38.

[11] Jean-Paul Sartre. *Situations.* Translated by Venita Eisler. New York: George Braziller, 1965. "Reply to Albert Camus." p. 103.

[12] Zabel, *op. cit.,* p. 650.

Of his reaction to the first-night failure of *The Sea Gull,* Chekhov wrote to a friend: "When I got home I took a dose of castor oil, and had a cold bath, and now I am ready to write another play." [14]

In his account of the San Francisco earthquake, William James,[15] who went into the city from Stanford where he was spending a few months, remarked on the resilience of the victims, of their "healthy animal insensibility and heartiness."

One of the powers, then, that we know we need to include among the larger learnings is the power to endure. In a television interview with Ernest Jones some years ago, Lionel Trilling asked the aging biographer of Freud how he would summarize the lesson of the master. Jones' reply was this: "To look life straight in the face—and endure it." We might find this message a little bleak ourselves, but we would have to concede that physical being, sensibility or consciousness, love, and shaping and reshaping our experience rest as powers on this rock-bottom hardiness, this power simply to be and to continue to be.

An environment arranged or prepared for learning, an environment ordered for simplicity and certainty toward prescribed ends, a failure-free environment—whatever its uses—may be inadequate for developing fully the power to endure. Much of life "out there" beyond the school or around the school, before and after school, is disarranged and unprepared, disordered and complex and uncertain, formless or littered with discarded forms, ambiguous, full of incongruity, lacking in immediate meanings. To learn to live in this world one needs to be in it, with it, so to speak.

Can we set the school scene for adventures into this world, a world that has to be accepted first to be experienced, has to be endured to be shaped, to be loved, to be responded to, to be physically enjoyed? The education of the poet really begins as he is willing to risk his life, so to speak, in venturing into the enchanted forest. Perhaps we can help him develop the power not merely to endure the darkness, the detours, the surprises but even to welcome them as the crossroads of new meanings.

A Sense of Urgency

What we have tried to do here is first to celebrate the prospect of success in individualizing instruction under what we have chosen to call definition (a): the individualization of instruction that leads to the achievement of mastery in the lesser learnings.

Then we have noted that this prospect means that our curriculum will be open to redevelopment. The teaching of facts and skills will occupy less time and space than in the past.

We have proposed that we use this time and space to individualize instruction under definition (b): the individualization of instruction that leads to the development or growth of power in the larger learnings.

We have tried, overgrandly perhaps and certainly too vaguely, to identify some of these powers—the powers of physical being, of responding, loving, creating, and enduring.

We have tried to imbue our analysis with a sense of urgency. If we do not see and accept the challenge of curriculum redevelopment on some such terms as these, there may be those less broadly based than ourselves who will move into the freed time and space with something or other, probably more and more of less and less. □

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 675.

[14] Chekhov, *op. cit.*, "Letter to A. S. Souvorin, October 22, 1896." p. 173.

[15] William James. *Memories and Studies.* New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1912. "On the Mental Effects of the Earthquake." p. 226.

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Please Stop and See

JOAN L. BAILEY

I am me.
I am not you or her or him or it.
I am me, see.
(Please stop and see.)
I am slow, I am forgetful, I am often wrong.
I am silly, and sad, and afraid. How wrong is
  wrong? How sharp a tone? How dark is
  night? How alone is alone?
(Please stop and see.)
I am a thrill—touch and be—the rock, the
  lizard, the butterfly.
I am a question—how far to the star; why
  mow the lawn; how do I yawn; why a
  haircut; why do you say "yes, but—";
  there's a fair in town you know; will I go?
I am me, but what will I be?
(Please stop and see.)
I am a story told, a picture seen, the flash
  of a swing, a flip on the bars, a smack
  of a ball—I did it all! That's me!
I am a messy room, a voice too loud, a turned-
  down lip, a cry, a frown—I did it all. See!
I am in need to know; how far is out and up
  and down—how far can I go. I need to know.
(Please stop and see.)
I am in need to be free. Accept me, love me,
  understand me. Set me free for
I am me—and I am in the process of becoming.
(Please stop and see.)

Joan L. Bailey, Fifth Grade Teacher, San Miguel Elementary School, Concord, California

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Individual Differences: A Precious Asset

(An Editorial)

WILLARD C. OLSON

INDIVIDUAL differences among children have sometimes been regarded as a nuisance in educational programs since they prevent uniformity in classification, curriculum, methods, and results. After we have avoided the great hazards of deprivation and damage, we may be able to move ahead farther faster by cultivating differences as a precious asset. In providing for individual differences in children in schools we need to take into account the facts, the attitudes toward these facts, and the implications and practices which follow from points of view about them. First, let us take a quick look at some of the facts.

A century of research has provided

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ample documentation of individual differences in every dimension—physical, social, emotional, and intellectual. Many of these are observable and measurable at birth and before. At each age they represent an end product in development of the numerous permutations and combinations of genetic and nurtural factors. Development must be nurtured, but individual differences persist under all conditions that man is able to provide.

Most widely studied have been the differences between individuals where all have had the benefit of common experiences or materials for growth. Qualitative differences between individuals may regularly be found in areas of presence and absence of experience, e.g., literate and illiterate. Well established also are intra-individual differences in the amount of various achievements present. Change with time at different rates and with unique designs is adequately documented. Continuity over the years is the rule, with systematic changes in individuals. The longer children attend school the more unlike they become in achievement in areas of common experience. If adjustments are made for the increasing averages, the relative variability shows more constancy.

Consistent differences between the sexes are regularly found in many school achievements. The difference in reading age, for example, is about six months or one-half grade in favor of the girls at each age in the growing period. This makes a sufficient difference at the lower end of the distribution to load clinics and remedial classes with four or five times as many boys as girls. The difference of six months at the average is overshadowed by a standard deviation of two years and a range of ten years for each sex by the sixth grade.

It remains true, whether for biological, cultural, or statistical reasons, that children viewed as wholes are more alike than when a single attribute is considered. Education should provide for the core of relative similarity as well as for the enoromus variability in specific aspects.

We should not be misled into believing that we have created homogeneous categories by identifying groups of gifted and mentally retarded children. While average effects are present, the differences in children within each group remain striking. Each person still has unique qualities and patterns.

There are large differences among communities in health, economic, and social indices; and these have been found to coexist with measured intellectual, behavioral, and educational characteristics of the children. Within each city with neighborhood schools, persistent systematic differences are found among them.

Differences among communities are revealed in the values placed upon education, in what they seek for their children, in willingness to support, and in the acceptance of changes. Schools at the best are sensitive to and build upon the varying needs presented as well as on the common requirements for a citizen.

What are some of the attitudes toward the foregoing facts? Facts are not translatable automatically into implications and practices. This is because there are also differences in attitudes toward them among responsible people. Values intrude to determine the course of action. Persons hold different hypotheses about the origin of individual differences. The bare facts of variability do not describe the process by which they came about. Extreme views may be held, for example, that all the variation among children is attributable to the environment, on the one hand, or is all attributable to heredity, on the other. The truth probably lies between. Science does not have a perfect answer to this problem in multiple causation. Social stratification and political ideologies produce emotionally colored points of view which make for programs which are different in operation. The democratic ideal of providing opportunity for maximizing the growth potential of all produces a different program than the exclusive ideal of the education of a select few.

At times the evidence on one course of action or another is unclear. The evidence may be balanced at the level of "coin tossing" or chance. The prevailing climate of opinion may precipitate a decision without valid support, and the attitudes of individuals reflect uninformed disagreement. To say that where we do not know the answer we should be flexible and experimental reflects a bias in favor of the scientific method.

The democratization of educational opportunities has caused a gradual shift in attitudes toward individual differences in large numbers of people from suppression, to toleration, to cultivation. If one accepts capitalization on differences *between* individuals and building on strength *within* an individual as desirable practices for schools, certain consequences follow. The curriculum becomes broad rather than narrow. The expected achievement is at the level of the child's ability rather than at the average, norm, or standard for a group. Instructional materials with a range in difficulty are available for each class group. The marking or description of individual differences in achievement takes on more the character of a nurturing than a punishing process. Reports to parents reflect the same characteristic. With a healthy respect for individual differences, child participation in planning becomes more acceptable and needful. Mechanical common assignments give way to more dynamic practices which permit seeking, self-selection, and creative solutions. Children may then properly occupy various roles in a group, have interests which differ, and be in the process of finding a place in a society which survives and prospers because individuals fit into its varied needs.

The time has come to accept individual differences in children as a reality and to work with them without trying to blame them on anyone or to feel guilty that they exist. Resistance to easy modifiability is man's insurance of stability, and the possibility of change his hope for the future. Individual differences among people are a precious asset. A constructive program to meet them promises large returns. □

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"Hey, You!"

ROBERT W. EDGAR

Hey, You!
Wha'cha want?
You. What are you doing in the hall?
Goin' to the bat'room.
Where's your pass?
I don't got none.
What's your name?
Joe. Joe Doe.
Why haven't you got a pass?
It was a 'mergency. Somebody had da pass.
What's your homeroom number?
Seven twelve.
Look. Get back to your class immediately. I'm sending a note to your homeroom teacher, telling him you were in the hall without a pass.
O.K., teach.

Robert W. Edgar, Professor of Education, Queens College of The City University of New York, Flushing

"Teach" encounters "you" in a large city school. Was his name really Joe Doe? Was his homeroom number really seven twelve? Did he really have a " 'mergency"?

What teacher has time to discover the answers? Thirty-five kids in a class, five classes a day, and these only a minor handful of the thousands that throng the corridors, fill the classrooms, and jam the sidewalks. Who are they? What are they doing? Why? Who knows? Who cares?

OUR society is haunted by a sense of despair arising from the lack of meaningful contact among people. Seventy years have passed since Durkheim, in his study of *Suicide,* used the word "anomie" to designate the rootlessness that characterizes the lives of many people in urbanized, industrialized, and bureaucratized societies.

Our greatest American playwrights, Arthur Miller, Tennessee Williams, and Edward Albee, have made this the central theme of their best works. Willy Loman in *Death of a Salesman,* fulfilling Durkheim's thesis, concludes a life dedicated to being "well-liked" by suicide; Blanche Dubois, in *A Streetcar Named Desire,* dispossessed from her ancestral home and defeated in her efforts to establish meaningful relations with others, chooses the fantasy world of insanity; while the family and friends in *A Delicate Balance,* thrown together at a time of crisis, are unable to be genuinely concerned with each other's fate. The authors of the novels *Catch-22, The Invisible Man,* and *Nobody Knows My Name* reiterate the same thesis. For all the car-clogged highways, the crowded multi-dwellings, and the jammed supermarkets, the people of modern America find life lonely and meaningless.

The Dominance of the Economic Model

America is dominated by its economy, producing more goods for more people at less cost per unit than any other society since man first gathered berries and lived in caves. In this activity the greatest good is efficiency. In the economists' model of the efficient society, humanity is ignored. People are like magnetic counters, attracted and repelled by wages and profits as the market communicates information concerning supply and demand. Love of place or pride in skill is irrelevant. In this world of quantities, human attributes and feelings are more often obstacles than aids.

Impersonal efficiency probably deserves its high place in the economic order. But to give it the same priority in the organization of moral enterprises endangers these institutions. Schools aim to develop good men for the good society. In their realm, efficiency is a minor virtue. Yet even here its influence is difficult to resist. Its pervasiveness is seen even in the writing of a man like James B. Conant, whose credentials as a civic-minded teacher-scholar are beyond reproach.

Conant, in prescribing a program for secondary schools in *The American High School Today,*[1] puts the elimination of the small high school at the top of his list. The prospect of limited course offerings and only partially qualified teachers is so horrifying that he cannot even notice in passing the vital social role which the small school has played in the life of its community. Conant, concentrating on the efficient deployment of teachers and facilities, forgets that the small school satisfies human needs that the larger one often overlooks.

However, this paper is not addressed to the small school in the rural area, but to the mass school in the metropolis. These schools have never been troubled by the absence of pupils sufficient to justify the employment of specialists. Rather, their story is one of trying to accommodate more children in buildings already filled beyond capacity. Today the typical New York City high school has in excess of 4,000 pupils, some over 6,000; while the typical junior high school has between 1,400 and 1,800 pupils.

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[1] James B. Conant. *The American High School Today.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959.

In these schools, specialists abound: principals and their assistants, department chairmen, guidance counselors, attendance officers, school–community coordinators, developmental reading teachers, remedial reading teachers, and a host of specialists in subject matter.

Danger of Depersonalization

In such schools, interpersonal relations become more and more attenuated. The typical classroom teacher has from 150 to 200 different pupils per day. If he teaches music or health education, he probably has 600 different pupils per week. Pupils are reshuffled among the teachers each year, perhaps each semester. Who is who is often lost in the process.

The consequence is depersonalization. Marks, test scores, and section numbers begin to replace living pupils. Incidents like the following occur: A mother, asked about her daughter, told me that for the first time in seven years of schooling her daughter had failed a subject. She said she had gone to see the guidance counselor about it. "Of course," she added, "the woman had never actually seen my daughter. She had her folder and knew she had failed, but she had never talked with her about it."

Such schools endanger the development of their pupils as persons. Children need institutions in which they can have meaningful relations with adults. They need to be known, to be prodded, praised and punished, laughed at and laughed with, greeted and watched over. Modern psychology has taught us that children can learn to love only by being loved. What makes us think that they can learn other human virtues from impersonal sources? City schools will have to be transformed from places where "Hey, you!" and "O.K., teach!" are typical exchanges into humane communities where people interact with knowledge, respect, and affection.

School people have not been unmindful of this problem. Various organizational patterns have been tried. The self-contained classrooms of the elementary schools have always made close relationships between teachers and children possible. The primary failure in human relations has been the secondary school. Here the greater need for specialists and the greater maturity of the youth have made constant reshuffling both necessary and possible.

To counteract the ensuing impersonalization, educators have established homerooms and core programs. However, few schools have been able to make homerooms anything more than places to listen to announcements, while core programs seem to have defects which have led to gradual elimination.

The Small-School-Within-a-School

A more radical reorganization must be tried. Small units within the setting of the large school must be created, each consisting of a limited group of pupils organized around a core of teachers. Six years ago, in designing an experiment to study the needs of beginning teachers in slum-area schools, four members of the Department of Education of Queens College formed such a unit.[2]

Three recent graduates of the college were selected to teach in the project. For a three-year period these three young teachers taught 85 youngsters four subjects: English, math, science, and social studies (the science teacher also taught math). In addition, they acted as homeroom teachers, remedial teachers, and general advisers to the group. Their daily schedules were entirely devoted to these children. The pupils spent two-thirds of their day with them. The teachers taught as a team under a coordinator, meeting regularly to share their knowledge and to study improved methods and materials.

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[2] See Gertrude L. Downing *et al. The Preparation of Teachers for Schools in Culturally Deprived Neighborhoods.* (The BRIDGE Project.) Flushing, New York: Queens College of The City University of New York, 1965.

The teachers reported many advantages in this novel organization. They felt their planning was much improved. They were pleased and stimulated to discover that these pupils could retain some learnings over the summer. They reported that the time needed to train pupils in classroom routines was substantially reduced after the first year. They felt that their adaptations to individual differences became better as time passed. In addition, their team responsibilities gave them opportunities to capitalize on the insights of their colleagues and to participate in administrative decisions, such as determining membership of class groups and individual pupil assignments.

To the observer, a salient feature of the small-school-within-a-school was the depth of understanding which characterized not only the relations of teachers to pupils, but also of pupil to pupil and of teacher to teacher. Stresses and strains were not eliminated, but they could not be attributed to the frustrations of impersonality. Anxiety among both groups was considerably decreased. Pupils, who were accustomed to a school which seemed to use every opportunity to expose their ignorance and inadequacy, began to lower their defenses.

In time the teachers were able to demonstrate, through deed and not just by word, that they wanted to help the pupils, not hurt them. The teachers themselves, sustained through difficult times by the coordinator, came to accept each other in spite of failures and weaknesses. The small-school-within-a-school was a human institution, approving and disapproving, sometimes warm, sometimes harsh, but never impersonal, never remote.

Integrating Human Needs and Specialization

The small-school-within-a-school is a feasible pattern for the large city high school. It organizes teachers of subject matter in a way which encourages them to see children as total personalities. Though it focuses on the moral and emotional aspects of the children's development, it also capitalizes on the special competencies of the teachers. Of course, specialization is broadly defined and applied. Teachers teach the whole gamut of their subject area and the coordinator finds himself acting as both supervisor and guidance counselor. Such breadth is not impossible, and it has great meaning for children. In this organization, teachers and coordinator learn to accept their responsibilities not only as specialists but, more important, as genuine leaders of the young.

Reflection on the problems of the urbanized, industrialized, and bureaucratized society of today highlights its need for "bite-size" institutions. The need in the school is even greater than in the society at large, for children need to be known and appreciated if they are to flourish. We must resist the tendency of our over-rationalized society to see the solution to every problem in division and specialization. Children are more than the sum of their parts. If we are to preserve their integrity, then schools must organize in ways that recognize integrity. The small-school-within-a-school is one effort to meet that challenge. □

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The Dropout—Our Greatest Challenge

EARL C. KELLEY

THERE is much interest presently concerning the young people who are leaving our high schools before graduation. This is known as the "dropout problem." Concern with this problem is not confined to school people, but appears in all the mass media—newspapers, magazines, television. Especially at the close of summer, newspapers often run articles exhorting our young to go back to school. They quote statistics to show how much better off the holder of a high school diploma is than the person who does not have one. The appeal seems to state that if a young person will just hang on grimly until the band plays *Pomp and Circumstance,* doors to the good life will swing wide.

Some of those who decry the dropout situation are the same people who tell us that we give out too many high school diplomas to students who do not deserve them, and who complain because, they say, the diploma has no meaning any more. Some suggest meeting this problem by giving the unworthy ones special diplomas that will show that they are inferior. Sometimes we even establish an inferior colored paper so that the quality of the diploma can be detected from afar. At this moment it occurs to me that we might at last have found a use for the skin of the black sheep. We could give these youngsters black sheepskins. This idea falls down because there are not enough black sheep to supply diplomas to all who do not deserve regular ones. Perhaps the geneticists could solve the problem.

Nevertheless, the problem of having so many of our young leave school is a serious one, and I, for one, am grateful for the increasing interest of lay people in it. The problem is quite humiliating to school people, because these youths leave us with nothing else in mind. If there were plenty of jobs for our young, this would constitute a choice, but when they leave us for nothing else, it is hard to take. I question whether any commercial enterprise could continue as a going concern if it lost over a third of its business every year.

What Is the Cost?

The cost to society and to individuals of so many leaving our schools is hard to calculate. Some of the dropouts, having nothing to do, become delinquent; others withdraw into mental illness. The economic loss to society for delinquency and mental illness is staggering, and getting worse every year. The loss in self-respect suffered by those who find no place in our culture may cripple them for the rest of their lives. Who can compute the cost of a life wasted in comparison with a life well lived? How calculate the damage done to family and friends?

The *Saturday Evening Post* (March 12, 1962) published an article by Kohler and Fontaine entitled, "We Waste a Million Kids a Year." Some of these live in your own home town. Human waste is our greatest extravagance.

However, we are here concerned with the large percentage of our young who have

Earl C. Kelley. In 1963, Professor of Education, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan dropped out but are still in school. If we visit a secondary school class and look at the faces of the young people, we will see that in many cases the outstanding characteristic of the members is that they are not involved in what is going on. Most of them are going through motions to please their elders. Some are just sitting. Some are engaging in behavior which can only be interpreted as a protest. The latter are our "discipline problems."

While we have many studies of dropouts, we do not know much about the matter, because we have no way of including the dropout who stays in school. All we seem able to do is to count bodies, but physical presence does not mean presence of the whole person.

These young people are doing very little, learning very little; at any rate they are not learning much of the curriculum. We hear a good deal about how much homework a high school youth should do, but studies have shown that these youths do not do any homework. They have lost contact with what is going on in school, and are just passing time.

It is concerning this group that we get the complaints of employers and college teachers about the youths who hold diplomas but do not know anything. These are the ones for whom the curriculum has been "watered down." It seems never to have occurred to adults that if a soup does not taste good in the beginning no amount of water will improve the flavor. The need is for a fresh and different soup.

It is good that these dropouts have stayed in school, because they have to be somewhere, and even though they eschew the curriculum, they are better off in school than they might be if they removed their bodies. They get good out of associating with their peers. They can enjoy many activities which are closed to the physical dropout. But this is not enough. They desperately need an education too.

Response to Pressure

Why do these dropouts stay in school? Mainly, I think, because of the enormous parental and cultural pressure. It is "the thing to do." If they leave school, their fathers and mothers would be too embarrassed. The neighbors would wonder about their basic intelligence and whether or not the condition is hereditary. There isn't anything else to do anyway, so, all things considered, they decide they may as well stay in school, hoping that the teachers won't bother them too much. It seems that the quiet, well-behaved ones have entered into an unspoken truce with their teachers: "If you don't bother me, I won't bother you."

The adult reaction to the young people who cannot become involved with what we have decided they should care about is usually blameful. "If they were any good they would like what I've planned for them." We reward the ones who can and are willing to do what we want, and punish those who will not (cannot). Thus while these dropouts continue to stay in school, their concepts of self continue to take a beating, so that it is possible that they are actually less able for having stayed.

I do not think there is very much that we adults do unless we see the reason for doing it, feel able to do it, and preferably have had some small part in the planning of it. I believe that young people are quite like us in this regard. They need to be able to see that their school work is worth doing, and that it comes within the scope of what they feel able to do. They do not have to have their own way, but, like us, they are more enthusiastic about what they have had a hand in planning than they are about things that adults plan for them. This is especially true since it seems to them that adults really live in another world.

If involvement is necessary, then we must involve these youngsters. This will call for the abandonment of many of our sacred cows, because when young people choose, there is no guarantee that they will choose what we had in mind. As for myself, I have some things I think all people should know. But they don't and they obviously are not going to, so I might just as well relax.

Not only must each learner be involved but he must be free to be involved in his own way. Perhaps the best-proven fact in educational research is that each human being is unique. We will have to make it possible for unique learners to do different things and to come out with different learnings. They come out with different learnings now, and always have, but we teachers have not yet accepted this fact. This failure to accept the obvious and inevitable spoils the lives of many teachers.

People do things with goals in mind. The envisioned goal is the valid reason for doing anything. Children and youth are people. In general, the younger the person, the more immediate the goal must be. When we tell an elementary or junior high school child that if he does not do what we tell him to, he will not be able to go to college, he is not likely to be impressed. He has to have a better reason than that, and it seems likely that we may have to modify what we are doing.

When we urge youth to stay in school, or to return to school to do what has already been found wanting, we sell a shabby piece of goods. I would like for all of them to stay in school, if for no other reason than there is no other place in our society for them. Just to "stick it out," however, will not do them very much good. What we could say is that "if you will stay with us, we will try something different, something that makes sense to you."

If he stays, he will of course get a "credential" or diploma which may be of some use to him. It is a poor substitute for an education. This is especially true if, as sometimes happens, we then give him a spurious diploma, saying in effect, that he really did not graduate after all.

Why Not Try?

There is nothing new in the foregoing; certainly nothing new to supervisors and curriculum directors. If it is true that people have to be involved, that learners are unique, that goals have to be reasonably near, why don't we do more about it? What are we afraid of?

I have asked this question many times. Often the answer is, "We don't know how." Superintendents and principals tell me they would like to have good core classes, for example, but they do not have anybody who knows how to do it.

It seems to me that if our profession requires us to do something we do not know how to do, then we must learn how. This applies to the teaching profession as a whole. We will have to be satisfied with small beginnings at first because, not knowing how, we must learn in small ways at first. We can expand on these small beginnings until we *do* know how.

The dropouts, in school and out, are legion. In some ways, they seem faceless. Our society being what it is, they have no place in it, except in school. They are wasting their time, often deteriorating rather than improving. They constitute our greatest waste. They can give us our greatest opportunity. □

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Creativity and Its Psychological Implications

MARIE I. RASEY

AUNT Eliza made pincushions for old and young in the village where I grew up. She begged for broken lamp chimneys, which were plentiful in that day. She broke away the pearled tops to use for the base and bound small cushions on the jagged edges. When every man, woman, and child in the village had at least two, it occurred to someone to ask her: "Aunt Eliza, why do you keep making pincushions when we all have so many?" After a thoughtful pause, she answered: "Just for a bein' a doin', I guess." She was probably right. It pleased her to be busy with the process. It did not much matter to her that she cared as little for the product as did the recipients.

Then there was old Professor Marlowe, long retired and much beloved. His fertile old brain kept right on wrestling with current problems. Reading, analyzing, formulating his opinions, there resulted a sort of Sociological Bulletin much sought after by his former students and highly valued by them.

Doubtless he, too, enjoyed the doing, yet it was clear that it was the bulletin, the end product, which was his primary concern. The enthusiasm of his former students also added its piquancy. Whatever the varied satisfactions which triggered his doing, his major objective was the thing created, and the process by which it was created was of secondary importance.

Such examples are to be found in most fields of creativity. Some creators are unconcerned with the product, once created. Others who create in the same areas tolerate the process, even practice long hours on skills they dislike for the sake of the product. The psychological implications are bound to be different ones for these two situations.

For the purposes of this brief discussion, we shall define the product aspect of creativity as any form which results from the individual's energies that are expended over patterns which are new to him. Neither process nor product need be new in the world. It is his creation if it is new to him.

This breadth of concept will contain Aunt Eliza's pincushions and Dr. Marlowe's bulletins, and a myriad other formulations in between. Cakes and pies, pictures and poems, blueprints for architecture, social or material, all these are products of the creator's process. As "The Monk in the Kitchen" says of the orderly state he has created there: "Lo, what was not, is."

By the process aspect of creativity, we shall mean the outflow of energy of individual or group through which a product is structured. As matter is defined as outflow of energy slowed down to materiality, so the creative process slows down to product. It is a total process, but a complex one. Its oneness is structured of part-processes one of which triggers another. As the process proceeds the playbacks report the degree of achievement. The sight or thought of food triggers salivation. This process triggers the next as the food progresses with the rhythmic movements of throat and gullet. The sight or thought of a gaunt black tree against a setting sun may trigger the artist to his paints,

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the musician to his score, the poet to his words, and a mother to the creation of a hearty warm soup against the autumn chill.

Now the successive processes become more apparent. That which was so lately a perception or idea, existing only in that nebulous area, begins to take on thingness. It becomes real. Its reality consists in the form which is emerging from formlessness. It is a recipe, a tentative sequence of sounds, words, or melodies. It is a basic sketch laid in on canvas. But the flow continues. It is no longer plan or vision. Its reality begins to be acted upon. It has become actual. There is now soup to eat, a symphony to hear. There are poems or pictures to stir the heart.

But the creator has made an earlier creation. His perception of his externality is his creation too. And it is uniquely his. His perception of the item is peculiarly his own, an emergent out of the experiencing of his yesterdays, compounded upon those of his species, since time began. He sees and hears and feels, literally and figuratively. He produces fresh patterning whether in clay or color or sound. He accomplishes actuality as he pronounces his own creative word upon his substance. It is this word which establishes an order upon those items which were otherwise unrelated and chaotic.

When the kitchen is the studio, eggs, sugar, and flour march at the command of the creative fiat, "let there be cake." And there is cake! Some artists use less concrete materials than eggs and sugar. Musician and poet may create from within, soundlessly with pencil on paper, hearing their creations only on their own resounding ears. Yet these, too, must have spoken their own type of "Let there be."

Sometime the creator must pass judgment on his work. As he works in quiet confidence or frenzied haste, the continuing playback will satisfy or frighten him. He may be easily pleased and far less than perfect creations result. It looked promising. It fell short. Sometimes his judgment may err in the opposite direction. He breaks his vase. He destroys his script. Rarely, it appears, is the creator able to look upon his creation and say: "It is good."

Ever-Widening Areas of Experience

As we observe these moving processes, we cannot but note that they parallel or perhaps are identical with those of growth of tissue which result in physical structure in the human individual and also those of learning which result in understanding. At one time we might have objected: "This may be true when new knowings are being created, but what of those processes in which a young organism is learning what those before him have created or reiterated?" But this position is no longer tenable.

It now appears that whatever each of us learns, he must first create by his selection of items out of the whole, and by the interpretation he puts upon or into his perceiving. What he sees comes from him. What his creative perception makes of what he sees makes of an experience whatever it is for him. He and his creating are always in process, for as Ames has pointed out, perception is never more than prognosis for action. It is the acting which makes the actuality. Whatever that action establishes is for him "something new under the sun."

To whatever extent this point of view proves valid, to that extent all men are their own creators. Their primary creation is the self each is. This creation does not get finished and done with once for all. It is a never-ending process. With each new-made self, the created becomes creator upon the stuff of his externality. He establishes continually new relatednesses between himself and the whole and the parts of his externality.

Since the human specimen is what he is, the process of creating is inevitable. What the process yields is not. That will depend to some extent upon the building blocks selected, and those available for selection in his externality, as well as upon the uniquenesses which are his. Carbohydrates do not build what proteins build. Science fiction will not build the same purposes or convictions as Romantic fiction. With whatever stuff he creates, the creation will be the objectification of the correspondences set up between the creator and that which he chooses from his externality upon which to feed.

It is the recognition of these facts, however vaguely conceived, which lies behind so-called modern education. In order to know, the learner must do. As a doer, he is a creator. As a creator he becomes a knower. Such practices and concepts as are useful stem from these principles. Such as are less than useful come either from inadequate or misdirected creation on the one hand, or on the other from a misconception of the significance of the principles.

In "premodern days" education was also concerned with doing. But the conception was somewhat different. The learner "did" his examples in arithmetic. He "did" his assignments. By these repetitive doings, it was thought that he increased his skills and broadened his knowledge. When he was a free creator fulfilling his own drives and purposes, he learned and learned richly. When he was motivated only by the purposes of others for him, many of which he could not espouse, he learned slavish compliance or slavish rebellion. In arithmetic he "did" so many examples and had so little experience in problem solving that he most often became a chronic collector of right answers, and seldom a problem solver or a mathematician. While he is practicing exercises, he cannot grow into a problem solver. While he is slavishly driven by the purposes of others, he cannot grow into a free man.

The modern teacher, in the elementary grades at least, has caught this vision. She takes her pupils out of the school building into the flux of living. They visit adult activities. They go to dairies and firehalls and into stores and courts. The teachers take their children out, not alone to give them some freedom from the unnatural confinement of the schoolrooms, worthy as that objective might be. They go into the rich streams of living action, to experience it first hand, and to put into heads and hands the stuff of learning. They return with a commonality of experience to share and to understand.

Those who will recall the film of *Skippy and the Three R's* will remember how Miss Temple drew from the children's own fresh experiencing the words they learned to spell and read. She merely wrote upon the board the signs and symbols for their knowings. It was created by all and read by all. Presently they will also learn to do their own writing, too, although they will likely in all their adult life speak a thousand and read a hundred for the one word they write.

Experience tends to waken interest and provoke wishes and desires. Wishes and desires drive to purposes. Purposes demand fulfillment. Purposes carried out become experience. Experiences prompt further action, and fresh energy is released for further learning.

No detailing is necessary of the materials and practices by which the child creates his knowing. Paint and clay, words and stories, excursions, real and play occupations are his "chaos." The creator does and knows. He becomes and comes to be.

More Than a Kitten

In a recent experience in India, part of our class of Head Masters of High Schools had gone on a trip. Those who could not afford the trip were making teaching aids of one kind and another. There were contour maps, bulletin boards, dioramas, three-dimensional pictures of high moments in Indian history and literature. It was planned that when the travelers returned we would have an exchange session. The travelers would describe their experiences and explain how they intended to use what they had learned on the trip when they returned to their schools. Those who had remained would reciprocate by showing what they had made, demonstrate how it was done, and show how they intended to use it on their return.

Each participant chose his own project. Those who had caught the concept of togetherness joined forces with others and shared the task. Some few could not yet bring themselves to do this and chose things that they could do by themselves. As they rummaged through the materials they unearthed some patterns for stuffed toys, which had gotten in with our materials somehow. These patterns seemed poorly suited to high school boys and girls.

What was my surprise as I moved about among the 65 to find Mohan sewing together the pieces of what would be a stuffed toy kitten. I was not surprised that he worked alone. I had not thought that he would want to work with anyone. He had been our despair the first two weeks. He was a little man, and his dignity had not been quite tailored to his size. It sat a little large on his narrow shoulders. He kept stuffing his stuffed shirt attitude to hold it together. He used complaints about food and service, the songs we sang and the things we did and didn't do. Yet here he sat with the most beatific look on his face, and had sewed the two pieces of white cotton all around leaving no opening to turn and stuff it. How was I to show him what needed doing without spoiling his state of bliss? I paused by his chair, and with one of his most infrequent smiles, he said: "I make a kit-ton because I can sew." He pronounced it sue. "My mother died when I was young. I can sew and also cook." If his kitten had come alive it could not have purred more complacently. How was one to correct without wrecking the joy? The stitches were a bit longer on the tiny ear, and I seized on that. "I'd hate to try to turn that from that tiny ear. I'd expect it would ravel out." And I passed on quickly.

As I glanced back, I saw that he had discovered his error, and sat there glaring at his kitten. He who was so skilled in finding other people's errors had no technique for handling his own. Whether he glared it open or ripped it, I do not know. When I came back again it was turned and he was pushing cotton wool into it with the butt of his pen.

"Quite a kitten," I commented. "When I make them I always have trouble with the neck. I don't get enough stuffing in, and the head tips over."

"I shall stuff it well, and I shall do it a beard," he answered. Then it was time for the reports. What would Mohan have to say about the uses of a stuffed kitten with secondary school pupils? When his turn came he strode to the center of the circle. In his hand he held his kitten. "Friends," he cried in a challenging tone. "You may think it strange that I make a stuffed kit-ton toy to use with high school boys. I will explain you." There followed a meticulous description of cutting and sewing. He made no mention of his own error. He told the process down to the last stitch in putting in a pasteboard base, "that the kit-ton may stand."

"And I shall use it," he continued, "as I have learned here to say pleasantly what might otherwise be unpleasant. When the boys have made their notebooks messy, or have grown too noisy, I shall take kit-ton from my pocket and I shall say: 'Kit-ton, the boys are too noisy aren't they?' And kit-ton will say 'yes,' " and he nodded the kitten's head with his forefinger.

A titter went round the group. It was partly in recognition of the good performance, and partly surprise at his unwonted gentleness. For a second the old pattern flared. A frown more appropriate to a Grecian Jove sat on his bantam brow. "It is my kit-ton. I have made it. Let no one say that it is his." There was a round of laughter and the cloud lifted.

"I wish to say more," he continued. "I wish to say that this is more than a kit-ton and a way to say things. It is also a miracle. At first I have thought this all quite silly," he waved an all-inclusive arm . . . "singing songs, dancing, and called work, when it is not even study. Then I began to see a litttle. I saw how we laughed when we sang of her who comes round the mountain with her six white horses. We even laughed when we sang of Clementine just while we sang that we were awfully sorry. I saw and I also laughed. Then I began to see how the laughing sticked us together. Then the reports we made together, the manuals we wrote. The excursions—they all sticked us closer together about more important things.

"Behold me. I am not a young man. I am lecturer in a teacher training college. Yet I, even I have made such a kit-ton from khadi cloth. I sewed it well, and I am proud, and I shall use it to teach my young teachers how to say unpleasant things pleasantly. But as this cotton became kit-ton in my hands, something happened to me. I became my own creation, something other than I was. I cannot name it, so I shall call it the miracle of the kit-ton, and I shall not again be the same man."

As he took his seat an almost holy hush preceded the burst of applause. What does all this mean? The creator creates and is himself created. One would have to be a chronic Pollyanna to believe that the making of a toy could be counted on to make a sour grumpy man into an understanding teacher, yet the creating process may. The teacher, as she assumes the creator role, ceases to be the imparter of knowledge, if indeed she ever succeeded in doing it.

The function becomes rather that of a stage manager and scene shifter. She moves up circumstances a little nearer or lights some obscure corner. She does not try to put knowledge into anyone. She tries to lead him into areas which are rich and experience-laden. She trusts him to create his own knowing. She is not so much concerned with his habit, as with his habitat, "that state of nature in which a species is at home." She does not attempt to feed him. She undertakes to make reasonably safe and highly inviting the ever widening areas of his awareness so that he can "go in and out, and find pasture." □

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Uniqueness and Creativeness: The School's Role

E. PAUL TORRANCE

THROUGHOUT the history of education, in a diversity of ways men have asked, "Should the school assume more responsibility than it now does for the identification and cultivation of uniqueness and creativeness in and among its pupils?" Usually, the answer has been a very definite "No." Creative individuals have almost always had serious difficulty in surviving in the schools of their day.

Many rationalizations have been offered for the negative answer. Some people say, "There is no way of identifying a creative individual." Others say, "It is not possible

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to cultivate creativity in a person; if a child has a spark of creativity, it will come out no matter what you do." Still others argue, "We already have too many creative individuals; we need obedient, disciplined people who can follow orders and be loyal citizens." These very same people have, of course, held to the dream of an educational system that would help each person in our society develop his potentialities.

One could almost dichotomize learning theories, educational methods, and teaching procedures into those that emphasize the receptiveness of the human mind and those that emphasize the self-acting, creative nature of the human mind. A failure to recognize that there are vast individual differences in receptive and self-acting tendencies has generally resulted in confusion when the validity of these two opposing views (as represented by learning theories, teaching methods, etc.) has been subjected to experimental tests. In actual practice, methods emphasizing the receptiveness of the human mind have generally "won out."

To many educators these methods are appealing because they do not seem to require continued creative energy to apply them. The results are fairly predictable, promising the educator greater control of the behavior of children and young people. Such methods are thus less threatening to the educator. Some advocates of these methods for all children recognize a body of knowledge that shows that different children have different ways or styles of learning. They argue that we cannot afford financially to apply such knowledge, that it would accentuate individual differences, and that this would be dangerous.

One of the tragic consequences of this point of view is that certain types of children and young people simply do not learn when taught according to the stimulus-response psychology that emphasizes the receptivity of the mind. Forcing them to learn in ways unnatural for them and incompatible with their best abilities and preferred ways of learning robs them of much of their human dignity and a chance to achieve their potentialities.

Some observers have concluded quite erroneously that there has been a "creativity boom" in American education. I have simply been unable to see any of the evidences of such a "boom." I know of no rigorous observational study of classroom behavior that gives much evidence of attempts to identify and acknowledge creative potentialities or to facilitate creative functioning and development. In workshops and institutes on creative ways of teaching, I have found many of the essential skills absent from the behavior repertoire of teachers at all levels.

However, I have encountered thousands of teachers who are trying to develop some of these skills and are experimenting successfully with creative ways of teaching. I have encountered several hundred principals and supervisors who want to help teachers acquire the requisite skills. I am asked what the research efforts of the past ten years have contributed to help them in this task. Most briefly, I shall list what I regard as some of the most important implications of this research for educational practice.

1. "Creativity" Not Mystical

For ages, educators have been preoccupied with the personal-mystery concept of the creative process. The development of instruments to assess the mental abilities involved in creative thinking and the personal qualities required for creative achievement; [1] the designing of sequences of guided learning experiences [2] and the production of instructional materials to facilitate creative development and functioning in the classroom;[3, 4] and experimentation with teaching methods designed to facilitate creative development and functioning[5] have done much to take "creativity" out of the realm of the mystical. Whenever any aspect of human behavior is removed from the realm of mystery, educational practice is affected.

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[1] E. P. Torrance. *Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking: Norms-Technical Manual (Research Edition).* Princeton, New Jersey: Personnel Press, 1966.

[2] E. P. Torrance and R. Gupta. *Development and Evaluation of Recorded Programmed Experiences in Creative Thinking in the Fourth Grade.* Minneapolis: Bureau of Educational Research, University of Minnesota, 1964.

2. A Definition Operationalized

In my research and developmental work, I have maintained that creative thinking occurs when a person responds constructively to a situation that calls for non-habitual behavior, solutions for which the behaver has no learned response. I have been concerned primarily with creativity among school children, in classrooms, and among teachers. I have chosen, therefore, to define creativity as a process whereby one becomes aware of problems, difficulties, gaps in information, and disharmonies for which he has no learned solution; searches for clues in the situation and existing knowledge; formulates hypotheses, tests them, modifies them, and retests them; and communicates the results.

If one accepts this definition, he can then ask what mental abilities or kinds of mental functioning are brought into play in the process; what personal qualities facilitate the process; what kinds of teaching methods, classroom procedures, and instructional materials will facilitate the process. The definition can also be used to guide evaluations of the products that result from the process. The process can be replicated in classrooms at all levels of education. Since any skill must be practiced to be developed, it seems reasonable that classroom activities that replicate the process will contribute to creative development.

3. Assessment Instruments

A variety of assessment instruments attempting to operationalize the above definition have been developed. After nine years of development, one achievement in this area is the publication of a research edition of alternate forms of both verbal and figural batteries of tests of creative thinking. The technical-norms manual for these batteries offers a variety of test-retest reliability, interscorer reliability, and validity information.

Progress has also been made on the development of measures of creative motivation, preferences for learning in creative ways, and procedures for helping teachers identify creative potentialities.

Whatever the limitations of these tests might be, they can help educators become aware of potentialities that might otherwise go unnoticed. These instruments may also provide models for developing measures of subject matter achievement, and sequences of learning experiences that provide experience in creative thinking.

4. Not Necessary To Leave to Chance

The work of my associates and me, Crutchfield and his associates,[6] and dozens of others has demonstrated that creative functioning and development among school children can be facilitated by deliberate methods, sequences of guided experiences. Instructional materials developed through these projects give classroom teachers some ready-made helps which, if used intelligently, contribute to creative development. This, of

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[3] B. F. Cunnington and E. P. Torrance. *Imagi/Craft Materials* (10 albums and teacher guides). Boston: Ginn and Co., 1965.

[4] R. E. Myers and E. P. Torrance. *Can You Imagine?; Invitations to Thinking and Doing; Invitations to Speaking and Writing Creatively* (pupil ideabooks and teacher guides). Boston: Ginn and Co., 1965.

[5] E. P. Torrance. *Rewarding Creative Behavior: Experiments in Classroom Creativity.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

[6] R. S. Crutchfield. "Creative Thinking in Children: Its Teaching and Testing." In: O. G. Brim, Jr., R. S. Crutchfield, and W. H. Holtzman. *Intelligence: Perspectives 1965.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966. pp. 33-64.

course, is in keeping with a general conclusion of Alfred Binet [7] in 1909 that intelligence consists of all of the little functions of discrimination, observation, retention, imagination, and the like and that all of these functions are susceptible to development through education.

5. Continuity of Development

For many years, investigators have found that drops in creative functioning and participation in creative activities occur at about age five, the fourth grade, and the seventh grade. It was generally assumed that these drops or discontinuities were inevitable and healthy aspects of development. My associates and I have been unwilling to accept this assumption.

In a series of studies, we have shown that these discontinuities do not occur under teachers who deliberately build upon skills already acquired and make use of activities that give opportunities for the practice of the creative thinking abilities and creative personality characteristics. Comparative developmental curves in several different cultures have shown that the shape of the developmental curves differs from country to country and that drops tend not to occur in cultures that have been described as continuous. We have also shown that intelligent use of well-prepared instructional materials makes the influence of the school strong enough to offset the effects of cultural discontinuities.[8]

6. Children Learn in Different Ways

To me, the most exciting insight that has come from creativity research is that different kinds of children learn best when given a chance to learn in ways best suited to their motivations and abilities. Whenever teachers change their teaching in significant ways, different groups of learners become the stars or high achievers. In another source, I have summarized some of the evidence for this conclusion.[9] This conclusion has far-reaching implications for educating a larger number of people to a higher level and for achieving a higher level of human dignity and mental health in our present society.

In conclusion, many critics have equated creative ways of learning with progressive education, permissiveness, and lack of discipline.

A careful examination of the methods and materials that have been developed and evaluated reveals that such a conclusion is grossly in error.

The most sensitive and alert kind of guidance and direction is required. Although there are moments of play, the most rigorous kinds of discipline are required. Learning in creative ways requires expensive energies and emphasizes the self-acting rather than the receptive nature of the mind. The importance of the informed mind and the acquisition of authentic information are central themes.

The creative mind wants to know, digs deeper, gets into deep water, and encounters closed doors. It makes and corrects mistakes, builds sand castles, cuts holes to see through, "sings in its own key," and "has a ball."

To fail to recognize this complexity reflects a misunderstanding of the creative process and the educational practices necessary to identify, acknowledge, and develop creative potentialities through education. ☐

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[7] A. Binet. *Les Idées modernes sur les enfants.* Paris: E. Flamarion, 1909.

[8] E. P. Torrance and R. Gupta, *op. cit.*

[9] E. P. Torrance. "Different Ways of Learning for Different Kinds of Children." In: E. P. Torrance and R. D. Strom, editors. *Mental Health and Achievement.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965. pp. 253-62.

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Learning Our Difference

RODNEY A. CLARK

FOR teachers, much of what is said about "individual differences" seems to have more to do with the sameness of learners than with differences. Means, norms, and standard scores all seem to lump learners together rather than treat them as unique. This is only partly because teachers do not understand the science of measurement.

In their communications, measurers themselves often have not carefully separated their measurements from the variables being measured. They have allowed teachers to develop rigid interpretations of measurements as though they were "real"—for instance, teachers have been allowed to think children "have" IQ's. And teachers have even been urged to use statistics about groups as though they were data about individuals.

Learning Assumptions About Human Behavior

In order to escape this paradox, it is important that teachers reexamine what human difference really is. It is essential that teachers do this task for themselves.

In our living experiences there is pervasive feedback for each of us which tells us that all human beings are different. We know vaguely that we are all a part of each other, but we know indeed that each of us is unique. The same living experiences which teach each of us the universality of differences also teach us to deal with unique others by making assumptions about them. These assumptions are part of each self's concept about what the world is like and the people in it. Such assumptions are part of the private "reality" each of us has devised.

Having developed a basic set of assumptions, the educated human being can expand his assumptions through continuing evaluation of experience. The continuing evaluation will involve collecting data, some of which is quantified, and testing new feedback against previous learnings. Under some circumstances, such as therapy or trauma, changes can push into the basic set of assumptions; but for each of us there is a core of "knowledge" about human behavior almost not available to evaluation but which affects evaluation because it influences all criteria, values, and motivation.

Since all learning involves evaluation, and since evaluation springs from an individual's assumptions about humanness, all learning involves significant elements unique and unmeasurable. Traditionally, school procedures have left to chance the development of these basic assumptions about humanness.

Learners were not being helped to evaluate anything so personal, so intrinsic to the self. At best, students were *told* what assumptions to have.

Now educators are recognizing that if we facilitate the development of each learner's full potential we must not ignore the core from which we start with him. And slowly we are admitting that we cannot tell a learner what to value, by what to be moti-

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vated, by what criteria to judge, what is love, what is satisfying, what he needs. These he knows. They are part of his self.

Educators who particularly value the democratic processes and those who have investigated "mentally healthful" interpersonal relations have discovered that they tend to share assumptions about humanness. It is not surprising then to find that democratic processes are most effectively carried on through mentally healthful interactions. Nor is it surprising that mentally healthful ⟷ democratic interactions between teachers and learners enable each learner to develop assumptions about humanness which, while unique, accept the potential of all men to move toward openness, autonomy, love, and complete self-actualization.

Some assumptions about humanness which learners develop from mentally healthful ⟷ democratic interactions with teachers and peers are predictable. As has been described previously, the learner will recognize that all humans are different. From this he will realize that, whatever the differences of individuals, for each self the differences add up to infinite worth. The learner comes to know that behavior is explainable. He sees that each human chooses his own becoming and therefore each human is uniquely purposeful. As he finds that all humans are striving to be fully effective, he accepts all behavior as the behaver's attempt to be effective.

Teachers who have learned these same kinds of assumptions will put them together to understand that learning is a changed relationship among elements of the complicated process of the individual's becoming effective. From this definition of learning, teachers will move into the teacher-learner relation so as to help learners evaluate what are the consequences of their efforts to be effective. They will assume the validity of the learner's assumptions about effectiveness as humans, but they will help the learner evaluate even these assumptions if they become available to introspection.

Four Facets of Effectiveness

Again it can be predicted that, if the mentally healthful ⟷ democratic interactions in a school are rich, varied, and deeply evaluated, each learner will develop along four facets of effectiveness. These have to do with loving ⟷ lovable, coping ⟷ capable, expressing ⟷ meaningful, and integrating ⟷ autonomous.

Each of these facets moves from experiencing the world, to a concept of what the world is like, to a concept of how the self is related to the world, to a concept of what the self "should" be like, to a concept of what the self needs.

Loving ⟷ Lovable

A human's first interaction with the world is through being cared for. Without care he would perish. From the quality of this care the infant learns about love—its plenty, its warmth, its sensuality, its limits, its demands. As he learns about being loved, he acts out what he is learning—by loving. Through loving and reactions to loving, he learns a concept of being lovable. The experiences of being loved, loving, and becoming lovable move through interactions with mother, father, siblings, peers, other adults.

The loving ⟷ lovable syndrome is well developed by the time a child comes to school, but is certainly not finished. School activities and teachers contribute much to the concepts. Peers gradually become more influential than teachers, but helpful teachers contribute importantly to the evaluation of peer experiences.

In adolescence, each learner must review his concept of loving ⟷ lovable and make decisions about how he will form his maturity around it. Fortunately, he can choose to learn to be different in loving and be lovable in ways other than he has ever known directly if teachers will help him. His loving will be observable to a large degree, but being lovable will be entirely private to his self-system.

Coping ⟷ Capable

The second facet of effectiveness arises as each human tries to use the world. He learns what things can do to him and what he can do to them. Gradually he learns what he can make things do to each other and how he is affected by this interaction. He learns to cope with the world as it is or to change it, to use the world and to be used by it only if and how he chooses. Then, through experiencing and evaluating his efforts to cope, he learns a concept of being capable.

Teachers know a great deal about helping learners develop coping skills. They are likely, however, to help improve the observable efforts at coping and leave to chance the private learning about being capable.

There are four general areas in which coping ⟷ capable learnings develop. The first of these areas—perhaps each of the others to some extent depends on it—is *communication*. The learner experiences naming, defining, describing, discussing, listening, reading, writing, "appreciating." In addition he communicates through music, art, drama, and dance. And, as he evaluates how these activities satisfy his needs, he learns a concept of being a communicator. It is this private concept which will determine what he does with his communication skills.

A second set of coping skills enables a learner *to live with people*. It must be remembered that for every skill about interacting with people the learner also develops a concept about his self as interactor. He alone knows how he defines being satisfied and capable, and this determines what interactions he will attempt.

It is convenient to group a third set of coping skills and experiences under a category dealing, not with people, but with the physical, chemical, biological, empirical world. We can predict that coping with the world will bring some realization that phenomena are explainable, these explanations are discoverable, there are "laws," these laws are relatively "true," through these laws things become more useful. What the teacher cannot know about directly is the learner's private definition of being a capable user.

The fourth set of coping experiences in our classification are those dealing with quantifying and calculating. The learner must conceive of himself as being a quantifier, a calculator, a problem solver, one who uses numbers efficiently, one who can expedite relating to things and people by calculations, or else he will not engage in mathematical activities.

Expressing ⟷ Meaningful

The third facet of effectiveness is the process through which a self's efforts to be expressed provide a concept of being meaningful. Of course, being meaningful comes out of being lovable and capable. These tell us *what* we are to start with, but each of us needs to go on to discover *who* we are. As we express, that is, make external in the world, what we are, we learn about a scheme of things. We come to "know" that there is a purpose for our purposefulness, there seems to be a reasoning about it all.

Our efforts to express our selves are observable. They are the things we make, create, build, own, our style of living—any procedure by which is put outside the self that which is valued, believed in, hoped for, in order to show it to others and/or to make it better known to the self. It would be foolish to assume that children or adolescents, because their definition of being meaningful is still meager, are any less involved than adults are in building this concept. We assume that learners *must* express themselves. While they cannot be "assigned" to do so, they can be helped to recognize needs and to match needs with appropriate expressions.

Integrating ⟷ Autonomous

By autonomy we mean a concept that the self is satisfyingly choosing its own becoming. It is a mentally healthy concept, but unfortunately is not developed commonly. The basis of its development, however, comes from the need of each self to integrate all the self's needs. In other words, the self needs to resolve conflicts between needs—it is important not to need to go and to stay at the same time.

For children, experiences with choice making, standing alone, going one's own way, develop a concept more of independence than of autonomy. For adolescents, however, choice making per se, independence per se, rebellion, reevaluation, redecision, new directions are almost the essence of becoming. Integrating all his newly aroused needs and reevaluated self-concepts consumes the motivational power of the adolescent. From this cauldron he must deal directly with the concept of autonomy. All his definition of maturity goes into this concept.

Since the concept of autonomy is the most sophisticated facet of effectiveness it, more than others, continues to be developed throughout adulthood. Perhaps it is not surprising that few selves become autonomous. It is obvious, however, that the more teachers can be helpful in the evaluation of integrating experiences the more they will contribute to the mentally healthy ←→ democratic potential of the new generation of adults.

Unmeasurable Variability

The foregoing description of human effectiveness provides a base from which to reconsider the place of "measurement" in helping learners. Admitting that no measurement is "real"—only an approximation, a probability—we are adding the complication here that intrinsic learning, being unique, privy to a self, cannot be measured. Besides, it becomes obvious that intrinsic learning is not quantifiable.

In the sense that each self is lovable with no strings attached, no matter how each self privately defines "lovable," then being lovable is infinite. There can be no more or less, only difference.

Much the same can be said for being capable. Each human is so able to do things, each puts together his abilities in such a complicated way! We can compare only isolated skills, never a total pattern of skills. That is, we can judge coping skill in a specific instance—typing speed, for example—but the capabilities of various typists to live effectively is another kind of guess entirely. And no matter what we guess, each typist has an entirely unique basis for guessing otherwise.

Who is meaningful? We all are. What is our meaning? It cannot be measured. Our meaning is not a matter of quantity—since I mean nothing without you, I cannot mean more than you.

It seems that we can talk about being almost autonomous, or about not being very autonomous. Yet, privately, the self conceives its actions as choosing its own becoming or it does not. (This is complicated in discussion because we assume each human *does* choose his own becoming whether or not he has this self-concept.) Therefore, even if each person's autonomy were not privately defined, we still could not compare autonomies.

Then what can we measure? Obviously not any intrinsic learning. Yet we can use measurement very effectively for helping a student with the other side of the process of becoming effective. For instance, while "lovable" cannot be measured, we can observe acts of loving. By collecting and quantifying data about loving acts, we can increase the feedback to the learner about the consequences of loving acts. We can observe the learner's use of skills (coping), certainly see, hear, feel, his modes and products of expressing, and how some kinds of integration of needs are externalized. We can collect data about the experience side of becoming effective. We can count events, measure change in skills, determine criteria for skill performance, objectify data about attitudes through scaling procedures, inventory interests, test hypotheses, compute probabilities, and so forth. Yet our purpose in this is *for feedback* to the learner. If we increase the feedback to the learner about the consequences of his efforts to be effective, then *he* will evaluate what the feedback means to him.

We may cease to *measure* some things and collect data about other qualities, but we will nevertheless need to know the probability that our data are reliable and/or valid. This kind of quantification will build the effectiveness of teachers and learners the more it clearly increases the flow of feedback to learners.

In summary, the deep, pervasive, intrinsic learnings that are the very self-concept of the learner are unique and private to the learner. They cannot be compared or quantified externally. Teachers can facilitate this learning by increasing the significance of the learner's experiences and the quality of his evaluations of experience.

Teachers will truly facilitate learning only when they accept that the learner chooses his own becoming. Each child, adolescent, adult, culturally disadvantaged, delinquent, neurotic, nonreader, or otherwise handicapped learner knows more about what he is doing than does the teacher. We cannot measure the learner. We can measure things external to him in order to increase the usefulness of data for his evaluations. □

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Significant Learning: In Therapy and in Education

CARL R. ROGERS

PRESENTED here is a thesis, a point of view, regarding the implications which psychotherapy has for education. It is a stand which I take tentatively, and with some hesitation. I have many unanswered questions about this thesis. Yet it has, I think, some clarity in it, and hence it may provide a starting point from which clear differences can emerge.

Significant Learning in Psychotherapy

Let me begin by saying that my long experience as a therapist convinces me that significant learning is facilitated in psychotherapy, and occurs in that relationship. By significant learning I mean learning which is more than an accumulation of facts. It is learning which makes a difference—in the individual's behavior, in the course of action he chooses in the future, in his attitudes, and in his personality. It is a pervasive learning which is not just an accretion of knowledge, but which interpenetrates with every portion of his existence.

Now it is not only my subjective feeling that such learning takes place. This feeling is substantiated by research. In client-centered therapy, the orientation with which I am most familiar, and in which the most research has been done, we know that exposure to such therapy produces learnings, or changes, of these sorts:

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The person comes to see himself differently.

He accepts himself and his feelings more fully.

He becomes more self-confident and self-directing.

He becomes more the person he would like to be.

He becomes more flexible, less rigid, in his perceptions.

He adopts more realistic goals for himself.

He behaves in a more mature fashion.

He changes his maladjustive behaviors, even such a long-established one as chronic alcoholism.

He becomes more acceptant of others.

He becomes more open to the evidence, both to what is going on outside of himself, and to what is going on inside of himself.

He changes in his basic personality characteristics, in constructive ways.[1]

I think perhaps this is sufficient to indicate that these are learnings which are significant, which do make a difference.

Significant Learning in Education

I believe I am accurate in saying that educators too are interested in learnings which make a difference. Simple knowledge of facts has its value. To know who won the battle of Poltava, or when the umpteenth opus of Mozart was first performed, may win $64,000 or some other sum for the possessor of this information, but I believe educators in general are a little embarrassed by the assumption that the acquisition of such knowledge constitutes education. Speaking of this reminds me of a forceful statement made by a professor of agronomy in my freshman year in college. Whatever knowledge I gained in his course has departed completely, but I remember how, with World War I as his background, he was comparing factual knowledge with ammunition. He wound up his little discourse with the exhortation, "Don't be a damned ammunition wagon; be a rifle!" I believe most educators would share this sentiment that knowledge exists primarily for use.

To the extent then that educators are interested in learnings which are functional, which make a difference, which pervade the person and his actions, then they might look to the field of psychotherapy for leads or ideas. Some adaptation for education of the learning process which takes place in psychotherapy seems like a very promising possibility.

The Conditions of Learning in Psychotherapy

Let us then see what is involved, essentially, in making possible the learning which occurs in therapy. I would like to spell out, as clearly as I can, the conditions which seem to be present when this phenomenon occurs.

Facing a Problem

The client is, first of all, up against a situation which he perceives as a serious and meaningful problem. It may be that he finds himself behaving in ways which he cannot control, or he is overwhelmed by confusions and conflicts, or his marriage is going on the rocks, or he finds himself unhappy in his work. He is, in short, faced with a problem with which he has tried to cope and found himself unsuccessful. He is therefore eager to learn, even though at the same time he is frightened that what he discovers in himself may be disturbing. Thus one of the conditions nearly always present is an uncertain and ambivalent desire to learn or to change, growing out of a perceived difficulty in meeting life.

What are the conditions which this individual meets when he comes to a therapist? I have recently formulated a theoretical picture of the necessary and sufficient conditions which the therapist provides, if constructive change or significant learning is to occur (8). This theory is currently being tested in several of its aspects by empirical research, but it must still be regarded as theory based upon clinical experience rather than proven fact. Let me describe briefly the conditions which it seems essential that the therapist should provide.

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[1] For evidence supporting these statements, see references (7) and (9).

Congruence

If therapy is to occur, it seems necessary that the therapist be, in the relationship, a unified, or integrated, or congruent person. What I mean is that within the relationship he is exactly what he *is*—not a façade, or a role, or a pretense. I have used the term congruence to refer to this accurate matching of experience with awareness. It is when the therapist is fully and accurately aware of what he is experiencing at this moment in the relationship that he is fully congruent. Unless this congruence is present to a considerable degree, it is unlikely that significant learning can occur.

Though this concept of congruence is actually a complex one, I believe all of us recognize it in an intuitive and commonsense way in individuals with whom we deal. With one individual we recognize that he not only means exactly what he says, but that his deepest feelings also match what he is expressing. Thus whether he is angry or affectionate or ashamed or enthusiastic, we sense that he is the same at all levels—in what he is experiencing at an organismic level, in his awareness at the conscious level, and in his words and communications. We furthermore recognize that he is acceptant of his immediate feelings. We say of such a person that we know "exactly where he stands." We tend to feel comfortable and secure in such a relationship. With another person we recognize that what he is saying is almost certainly a front or a façade. We wonder what he *really* feels, what he is really experiencing, behind this façade. We may also wonder if *he* knows what he really feels, recognizing that he may be quite unaware of the feelings he is actually experiencing. With such a person we tend to be cautious and wary. It is not the kind of relationship in which defenses can be dropped or in which significant learning and change can occur.

Thus this second condition for therapy is that the therapist is characterized by a considerable degree of congruence in the relationship. He is freely, deeply, and acceptantly himself, with his actual experience of his feelings and reactions matched by an accurate awareness of these feelings and reactions as they occur and as they change.

Unconditional Positive Regard

A third condition is that the therapist experiences a warm caring for the client—a caring which is not possessive, which demands no personal gratification. It is an atmosphere which simply demonstrates "I care"; not "I care for you *if* you behave thus and so." Standal (11) has termed this attitude "unconditional positive regard," since it has no conditions of worth attached to it. I have often used the term acceptance to describe this aspect of the therapeutic climate. It involves as much feeling of acceptance for the client's expression of negative, "bad," painful, fearful, and abnormal feelings as for his expression of "good," positive, mature, confident, and social feelings. It involves an acceptance of and a caring for the client as a *separate* person, with permission for him to have his own feelings and experiences, and to find his own meanings in them. To the degree that the therapist can provide this safety-creating climate of unconditional positive regard, significant learning is likely to take place.

An Empathic Understanding

The fourth condition for therapy is that the therapist is experiencing an accurate, empathic understanding of the client's world as seen from the inside. To sense the client's private world as if it were your own, but without ever losing the "as if" quality—this is empathy, and this seems essential to therapy. To sense the client's anger, fear, or confusion as if it were your own, yet without your own anger, fear, or confusion getting bound up in it, is the condition we are endeavoring to describe. When the client's world is this clear to the therapist, and he moves about in it freely, then he can both communicate his understanding of what is clearly known to the client and can also voice meanings in the client's experience of which the client is scarcely aware. That such penetrating empathy is important for therapy is indicated by Fiedler's research in which items such as the following placed high in the description of relationships created by experienced therapists:

> The therapist is well able to understand the patient's feelings.
>
> The therapist is never in any doubt about what the patient means.
>
> The therapist's remarks fit in just right with the patient's mood and content.
>
> The therapist's tone of voice conveys the complete ability to share the patient's feelings (3).

Fifth Condition

A fifth condition for significant learning in therapy is that the client should experience or perceive something of the therapist's congruence, acceptance, and empathy. It is not enough that these conditions exist in the therapist. They must, to some degree, have been successfully communicated to the client.

The Process of Learning in Therapy

It has been our experience that when these five conditions exist, a process of change inevitably occurs. The client's rigid perceptions of himself and of others loosen and become open to reality. The rigid ways in which he has construed the meaning of his experience are looked at, and he finds himself questioning many of the "facts" of his life, discovering they are only "facts" because he has regarded them so. He discovers feelings of which he has been unaware, and experiences them, often vividly, in the therapeutic relationship. Thus he learns to be more open to all of his experience—the evidence within himself as well as the evidence without. He learns to *be* more of his experience—to be the feelings of which he has been frightened as well as the feelings he has regarded as more acceptable. He becomes a more fluid, changing, learning person.

The Mainspring of Change

In this process it is not necessary for the therapist to "motivate" the client or to supply the energy which brings about the change. Nor, in some sense, is the motivation supplied by the client, at least in any conscious way. Let us say rather that the motivation for learning and change springs from the self-actualizing tendency of life itself, the tendency for the organism to flow into all the differentiated channels of potential development, insofar as these are experienced as enhancing.

I could go on at very considerable length on this, but it is not my purpose to focus on the process of therapy and the learnings which take place, nor on the motivation for these learnings, but rather on the conditions which make them possible. So I will simply conclude this description of therapy by saying that it is a type of significant learning which takes place when five conditions are met:

> When the client perceives himself as faced by a serious and meaningful problem
>
> When the therapist is a congruent person in the relationship, able to *be* the person he *is*
>
> When the therapist feels an unconditional positive regard for the client
>
> When the therapist experiences an accurate empathic understanding of the client's private world, and communicates this

When the client to some degree experiences the therapist's congruence, acceptance, and empathy.

Implications for Education

What do these conditions mean if applied to education? Undoubtedly the reader will be able to give a better answer than I out of his own experience, but I will at least suggest some of the implications.

Contact with Problems

In the first place, it means that significant learning occurs more readily in relation to situations perceived as problems. I believe I have observed evidence to support this. In my own varying attempts to conduct courses and groups in ways consistent with my therapeutic experience, I have found such an approach more effective, I believe, in workshops than in regular courses, in extension courses than in campus courses. Individuals who come to workshops or extension courses are those who are in contact with problems which they recognize as problems. The student in the regular university course, and particularly in the required course, is apt to view the course as an experience in which he expects to remain passive or resentful or both, an experience which he certainly does not often see as relevant to his own problems.

Yet it has also been my experience that when a regular university class does perceive the course as an experience its members can use to resolve problems which *do* concern them, the sense of release and the thrust of forward movement are astonishing. And this is true of courses as diverse as Mathematics and Personality.

I believe the current situation in Russian education also supplies evidence on this point. When a whole nation perceives itself as being faced with the urgent problem of being behind—in agriculture, in industrial production, in scientific development, in weapons development—then an astonishing amount of significant learning takes place, of which the Sputniks are but one observable example.

So the first implication for education might well be that we permit the student, at any level, to be in real contact with the relevant problems of his existence, so that he perceives problems and issues which he wishes to resolve. I am quite aware that this implication, like the others I shall mention, runs sharply contrary to the current trends in our culture, but I shall comment on that later.

I believe it would be quite clear from my description of therapy that an overall implication for education would be that the task of the teacher is to create a facilitating classroom climate in which significant learning can take place. This general implication can be broken down into several subsections.

The Teacher's Real-ness

Learning will be facilitated, it would seem, if the teacher is congruent. This involves the teacher's being the person that he is, and being openly aware of the attitudes he holds. It means that he feels acceptant toward his own real feelings. Thus he becomes a real person in the relationship with his students. He can be enthusiastic about subjects he likes, and bored by topics he does not like. He can be angry, but he can also be sensitive or sympathetic. Because he accepts his feelings as *his* feelings, he has no need to impose them on his students, or to insist that they feel the same way. He is a *person,* not a faceless embodiment of a curricular requirement, or a sterile pipe through which knowledge is passed from one generation to the next.

I can suggest only one bit of evidence which might support this view. As I think back over a number of teachers who have facilitated my own learning, it seems to me each one has this quality of being a real person. I wonder if your memory is the same. If so, perhaps it is less important that a teacher cover the allotted amount of the curriculum, or use the most approved audio-visual devices, than that he be congruent, real, in his relationship to his students.

Acceptance and Understanding

Another implication for the teacher is that significant learning may take place if the teacher can accept the student as he is, and can understand the feelings he possesses. Taking the third and fourth conditions of therapy as specified above, the teacher who can warmly accept, who can provide an unconditional positive regard, and who can empathize with the feelings of fear, anticipation, and discouragement which are involved in meeting new material will have done a great deal toward setting the conditions for learning. Clark Moustakas, in his book, *The Teacher and the Child* (6), has given many excellent examples of individual and group situations, from kindergarten to high school, in which the teacher has worked toward just this type of goal. It will perhaps disturb some that when the teacher holds such attitudes, when he is willing to be acceptant of feelings, it is not only attitudes toward schoolwork itself which are expressed, but feelings about parents, feelings of hatred for brother or sister, feelings of concern about self—the whole gamut of attitudes. Do such feelings have a right to exist openly in a school setting? It is my thesis that they do. They are related to the person's becoming, to his effective learning and effective functioning, and to deal understandingly and acceptantly with such feelings has a definite relationship to the learning of long division or the geography of Pakistan.

Provision of Resources

This brings me to another implication which therapy holds for education. In therapy the resources for learning one's self lie within. There is very little data which the therapist can supply which will be of help since the data to be dealt with exist within the person. In education this is not true. There are many resources of knowledge, of techniques, of theory, which constitute raw material for use. It seems to me that what I have said about therapy suggests that these materials, these resources, be made available to the students, not forced upon them. Here a wide range of ingenuity and sensitivity is an asset.

I do not need to list the usual resources which come to mind—books, maps, workbooks, materials, recordings, work-space, tools, and the like. Let me focus for a moment on the way the teacher uses himself and his knowledge and experience as a resource. If the teacher holds the point of view I have been expressing, then he would probably want to make himself available to his class in at least the following ways:

> He would want to let them know of special experience and knowledge he has in the field, and to let them know they could call on this knowledge. Yet he would not want them to feel that they must use him in this way.
>
> He would want them to know that his own way of thinking about the field, and of organizing it, was available to them, even in lecture form, if they wished. Yet again he would want this to be perceived as an offer, which could as readily be refused as accepted.
>
> He would want to make himself known as a resource-finder. Whatever might be seriously wanted by an individual or by the whole group to promote their learning, he would be very willing to consider the possibilities of obtaining such a resource.
>
> He would want the quality of his relationship to the group to be such that his feelings could be freely available to them, without being imposed on them or becoming a restrictive influence on them. He thus could share the excitements and enthusiasms of his own learnings, without insisting that the students follow in his footsteps; the feelings of disinterest, satisfaction, bafflement, or pleasure which he feels toward individual or group activities, without this becoming either a carrot or a stick for the student. His hope would be that he could say, simply for himself, "I don't like that," and that the student with equal freedom could say, "But I do."

Thus whatever the resource he supplies—a book, space to work, a new tool, an opportunity for observation of an industrial process, a lecture based on his own study, a picture, graph, or map, his own emotional reactions—he would feel that these were, and would hope they would be perceived as, offerings to be used if they were useful to the student. He would not feel them to be guides, or expectations, or commands, or impositions or requirements. He would offer himself, and all the other resources he could discover, for use.

The Basic Motive

It should be clear from this that his basic reliance would be upon the self-actualizing tendency in his students. The hypothesis upon which he would build is that students who are in real contact with life problems wish to learn, want to grow, seek to find out, hope to master, desire to create. He would see his function as that of developing such a personal relationship with his students, and such a climate in his classroom, that these natural tendencies could come to their fruition.

Some Omissions

These I see as some of the things which are implied by a therapeutic viewpoint for the educational process. To make them a bit sharper, let me point out some of the things which are not implied.

I have not included lectures, talks, or expositions of subject matter which are imposed on the students. All of these procedures might be a part of the experience if they were desired, explicitly or implicitly, by the students. Yet even here, a teacher whose work was following through a hypothesis based on therapy would be quick to sense a shift in that desire. He might have been requested to lecture to the group (and to give a *requested* lecture is *very* different from the usual classroom experience), but if he detected a growing disinterest and boredom, he would respond to that, trying to understand the feeling which had arisen in the group, since his response to their feelings and attitudes would take precedence over his interest in expounding material.

I have not included any program of evaluation of the student's learnings in terms of external criteria. I have not, in other words, included examinations. I believe that the testing of the student's achievements in order to see if he meets some criterion held by the teacher is directly contrary to the implications of therapy for significant learning. In therapy, the examinations are set by *life.* The client meets them, sometimes passing, sometimes failing. He finds that he can use the resources of the therapeutic relationship and his experience in it to organize himself so that he can meet life's tests more satisfyingly next time. I see this as the paradigm for education also. Let me try to spell out a fantasy of what it would mean.

In such an education, the requirements for many life situations would be a part of the resources the teacher provides. The student would have available the knowledge that he cannot enter engineering school without so much math; that he cannot get a job in X corporation unless he has a college diploma; that he cannot become a psychologist without doing an independent doctoral research; that he cannot be a doctor without knowledge of chemistry; that he cannot even drive a car without passing an examination on rules of the road. These are requirements set, not by the teacher, but by life. The teacher is there to provide the resources which the student can use to learn so as to be able to meet these tests. There would be other in-school evaluations of similar sort. The student might well be faced with the fact that he cannot join the Math Club until he makes a certain score on a standardized mathematics test; that he cannot develop his camera film until he has shown an adequate knowledge of chemistry and lab techniques; that he cannot join the special literature section until he has shown evidence of both wide reading and creative writing. The natural place of evaluation in life is as a ticket of entrance, not as a club over the recalcitrant. Our experience in therapy would suggest that it should be the same way in the school. It would leave the student as a self-respecting, self-motivated person, free to choose whether he wished to put forth the effort to gain these tickets of entrance. It would thus refrain from forcing him into conformity, from sacrificing his creativity, and from causing him to live his life in terms of the standards of others.

I am quite aware that the two elements of which I have just been speaking—the lectures and expositions imposed by the teacher on the group, and the evaluation of the individual by the teacher—constitute the two major ingredients of current education. So when I say that experience in psychotherapy would suggest that they both be omitted, it should be quite clear that the implications of psychotherapy for education are startling indeed.

Probable Outcomes

If we are to consider such drastic changes as I have outlined, what would be the results which would justify them? There have been some research investigations of the outcomes of a student-centered type of teaching (1, 2, 4), though these studies are far from adequate. For one thing, the situations studied vary greatly in the extent to which they meet the conditions I have described. Most of them have extended only over a period of a few months, though one recent study with lower class children extended over a full year (4). Some involve the use of adequate controls, some do not.

I think we may say that these studies indicate that in classroom situations which at least attempt to approximate the climate I have described, the findings are as follows: Factual and curricular learning is roughly equal to the learning in conventional classes. Some studies report slightly more, some slightly less. The student-centered group shows gains significantly greater than the conventional class in personal adjustment, in self-initiated extracurricular learning, in creativity, in self-responsibility.

I have come to realize, as I have considered these studies and puzzled over the design of better studies which should be more informative and conclusive, that findings from such research will never answer our questions. For all such findings must be evaluated in terms of the goals we have for education. If we value primarily the learning of knowledge, then we may discard the conditions I have described as useless, since there is no evidence that they lead to a greater rate or amount of factual knowledge. We may then favor such measures as the one which I understand is advocated by a number of members of Congress—the setting up of a training school for scientists, modeled upon the military academies. Yet if we value creativity, if we deplore the fact that all of our germinal ideas in atomic physics, in psychology, and in other sciences have been borrowed from Europe, then we may wish to give a trial to ways of facilitating learning which give more promise of freeing the mind. If we value independence, if we are disturbed by the growing conformity of knowledge, of values, of attitudes, which our present system induces, then we may wish to set up conditions of learning which make for uniqueness, for self-direction, and for self-initiated learning.

Some Concluding Issues

I have tried to sketch the kind of education which would be implied by what we have learned in the field of psychotherapy. I have endeavored to suggest very briefly what it would mean if the central focus of the teacher's effort were to develop a relationship, an atmosphere, which was conducive to self-motivated, self-actualizing, significant learning. Yet this is a direction which leads sharply away from current educational practices and educational trends. Let me mention a few of the very diverse issues and questions which need to be faced if we are to think constructively about such an approach.

In the first place, how do we conceive the goals of education? The approach I have outlined has, I believe, advantages for achieving certain goals, but not for achieving others. We need to be clear as to the way we see the purposes of education.

What are the actual outcomes of the kind of education I have described? We need a great deal more of rigorous, hard-headed research to know the actual results of this kind of education as compared with conventional education. Then we can choose on the basis of the facts.

Even if we were to try such an approach to the facilitation of learning, there are many difficult issues. Could we possibly permit students to come in contact with real issues? Our whole culture—through custom, through the law, through the efforts of labor unions and management, through the attitudes of parents and teachers—is deeply committed to keeping young people away from any touch with real problems. They are not to work, they should not carry responsibility, they have no business in civic or political problems, they have no place in international concerns, they simply should be guarded from any direct contact with the real problems of individual and group living. They are not expected to help about the home, to earn a living, to contribute to science, to deal with moral issues. This is a deep-seated trend which has lasted for more than a generation. Could it possibly be reversed?

Another issue is whether we could permit knowledge to be organized in and by the individual, or whether it is to be organized *for* the individual. Here teachers and educators line up with parents and national leaders to insist that the pupil must be guided. He must be inducted into knowledge we have organized for him. He cannot be trusted to organize knowledge in functional terms for himself. As Herbert Hoover says of high school students, "You simply cannot expect kids of those ages to determine the sort of education they need unless they have some guidance" (12). This seems so obvious to most people that even to question it is to seem somewhat unbalanced. Even a chancellor of a university questions whether freedom is really necessary in education, saying that perhaps we have overestimated its value. He says the Russians have advanced mightily in science without it, and implies that we should learn from them.

Still another issue is whether we would wish to oppose the strong current trend toward education as drill in factual knowledge. All must learn the same facts in the same way. Admiral Rickover states it as his belief that "in some fashion we must devise a way to introduce uniform standards into American education. . . . For the first time, parents would have a real yardstick to measure their schools. If the local school continued to teach such pleasant subjects as 'life adjustment' . . . instead of French and physics, its diploma would be, for all the world to see, inferior" (12). This is a statement of a very prevalent view. Even such a friend of forward-looking views in education as Max Lerner says at one point, "All that a school can ever hope to do is to equip the student with tools which he can later use to become an educated man" (5, p. 741). It is quite clear that he despairs of significant learning taking place in our school system, and feels that it must take place outside. All the school can do is to pound in the tools.

One of the most painless ways of inculcating such factual tool knowledge is the "teaching machine" being devised by B. F. Skinner and his associates (10). This group is demonstrating that the teacher is an outmoded and ineffective instrument for teaching arithmetic, trigonometry, French, literary appreciation, geography, or other factual subjects. There is simply no doubt in my mind that these teaching machines, providing immediate rewards for "right" answers, will be further developed, and will come into wide use.

Here is a new contribution from the field of the behavioral sciences with which we must come to terms. Does it take the place of the approach I have described, or is it supplemental to it? Here is one of the problems we must consider as we face toward the future.

I hope that by posing these issues, I have made it clear that the double-barreled question of what constitutes significant learning, and how it is to be achieved, poses deep and serious problems for all of us. It is not a time when timid answers will suffice. I have tried to give a definition of significant learning as it appears in psychotherapy, and a description of the conditions which facilitate such learning. I have tried to indicate some implications of these conditions for education. I have, in other words, proposed one answer to these questions. Perhaps we can use what I have said, against the twin backdrops of current public opinion and current knowledge in the behavioral sciences, as a start for discovering some fresh answers of our own.

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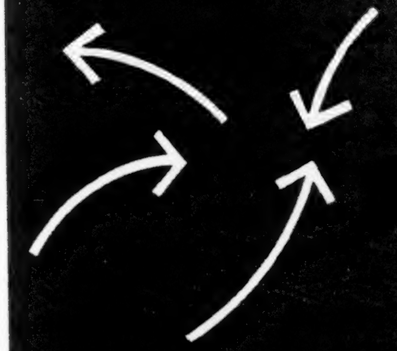

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SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT: THE ISSUES, THE IDEALS

Grappling with the many social issues confronting us, we as school people must realize that we dare not leave the course of revolution to others if our ideals for education are to count. Why must we be so involved? We cannot afford the luxury of the revolution's threshing out its own destiny in terms that will negate the ideals that generated it.
Leeper, p. 69.

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Schools and the Social Revolution

(An Editorial)

ROBERT R. LEEPER

THAT a social revolution is now under way cannot be denied. Its existence is documented in each day's headlines and broadcasts. Through sit-ins, picketing, drives for voter registration, protest meetings, petitions for redress of grievances, and other nonviolent demonstrations, we are having the needs of hitherto silent minorities laid squarely upon the consciences of all citizens. The burden of the haunting freedom songs cannot be ignored. Symptomatic of the revolution, too, are many of the more violent events, such as the riots in several of our cities, the bombings, and the mysterious disappearance or death of persons working for civil rights.

We are conscious today, as never before, of the intensified efforts of individuals, of groups, of peoples to improve their lot. They seek to enhance their condition in life, to attain for themselves and their children a better chance than might otherwise be theirs. Only such an idealistic goal could justify the hazards and the sacrifices entailed in such a revolt against "things as they are."

In a very real sense, the social revolution we are now experiencing is part of the long and continuing struggle of man for freedom and for the right to guide his own destiny in concert with his fellow human beings. A definition of "revolution" is "a sudden, radical, or complete change." Such is the nature of the present phenomenon that in some respects it is difficult to gauge its depth and the far-reaching quality of change that it represents. This movement is at once local, state, national, and worldwide.

Scholars have studied and analyzed the onset, the middle period, and the outcome of many revolutions. They recognize, in retrospect, the severity of circumstance and condition which brings about a popular revolt. They also recognize the critical points at which the original motives of the revolution hang in balance. At such points the ideals of the revolution either are adhered to or are reshaped, subverted, or abandoned. Such scholars, with the clarity of hindsight, can note also the manner in which the revolution works itself out in line with the ideals which inspired the revolt at its beginning, or along new lines which may in fact deny the original purposes.

The social revolution today is in full course. Whether or not we are actively involved in the struggle, the sounds of conflict and the acts of contest are all about us. We are, whether we will it or not, concerned in the outcome of the struggle. This is a revolution which must not be captured by criminal or negative forces.

The question is, do we in education recognize our responsibilities in the revolution now under way? What is the role of the schools in this revolution of people within the framework of our democracy?

Role of the Schools

We believe that school people cannot stand idly by while the storm works itself out

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in abandon and possibly in meaningless fury. Dig deep into the purposes of the revolution and we will discover the ideals that have always given the oppressed, the underprivileged, the moral strength and desperation needed to resist injustice. As school people, we must do our part in helping all citizens to see these basic ideals with clear eyes and to hold fast to the beliefs that have made us the inheritors of a way of government that protects and enhances the status of the individual as he joins his lot with his fellow men.

There are many things school people can and should do if we are to help shape the torrent of events now sweeping us toward a different tomorrow. Many of these possibilities and necessities have been before us for longer than we would like to acknowledge. Mostly, though, we have ignored these or temporized with the need for their introduction. Some of the things we can do are the following:

We can develop a way of working within and among schools that will bring all persons who will be affected by decisions into the process in which decisions are made.

We can make the learning and use of the methods of intelligence, of critical thinking, and of experimental processes a part of the continuing experience of learners of whatever age.

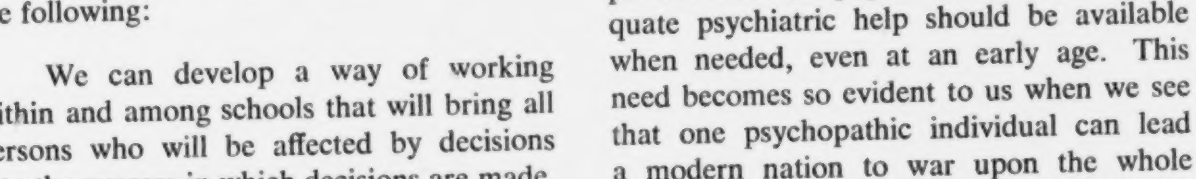
We can teach effective use of and respect for all areas of knowledge, and for the values and ideals that strengthen our common and unselfish endeavor.

We can stop waiting for the reluctant community to take the lead in desegregation of the schools. Sometimes the school people wait for a "go ahead" signal that does not come; while at the same time the citizens may wait for and would welcome signs of wholehearted approval of and support for desegregation on the part of the school people.

We can act at all levels to strengthen the person-to-person relationship in schooling. The forces which now tend to depersonalize the school and to advocate the treatment of individuals on a mass basis must be recognized for what they are: suitable only for manipulation of things, of objects. They are not appropriate for use with people engaged in the very human processes of teaching and of learning.

We must act to create better mental health conditions in our schools. A setting conducive to emotional stability should be provided for all pupils and teachers. Adequate psychiatric help should be available when needed, even at an early age. This need becomes so evident to us when we see that one psychopathic individual can lead a modern nation to war upon the whole world, or that another unstable individual can perpetrate a deed that can bring people throughout the world into mourning.

Grappling with the many social issues confronting us, we as school people must realize that we dare not leave the course of revolution to others if our ideals for education are to count. Why must we be so involved? We cannot afford the luxury of the revolution's threshing out its own destiny in terms that will negate the ideals that generated it. □



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A Cultural Enrichment Project Pays Off

I. B. Bryant

TRADITIONALLY, America has been considered a land of freedom. Nevertheless, one can easily observe that a large segment of the American population has been economically, educationally, and culturally deprived, with little or no opportunity for exposure to experiences which would enrich life. Some school people, genuinely concerned about the achievement of their students, have come to believe that experimentation may be a vehicle for discovering ways or means of motivating culturally deprived pupils.

Some educators believe that a penetrating look should be taken at our present level of achievement so that a program might be formulated that would give greater motivation to the disadvantaged and the deprived child. It has even been suggested that more exposure to the American mainstream or white world, to nongraded classes, and administrative imagination might be helpful in the motivation of the deprived.

After two years of exploratory study, educators in one school system decided to set up an experiment with volunteer students.[1] The purpose of the experiment was to determine whether academic achievement could be improved when these students were exposed to a variety of cultural experiences scheduled to take place before and after regular school hours. The opportunities for experiences were designed to introduce the students to unfamiliar cultural, technological, and scientific areas.

The Problem

The specific problems of the study, then, sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the present opportunities for cultural experiences offered by the school?
2. What are some of the out-of-school activities and experiences that can be offered by the school which might enhance cultural growth and increase academic achievement?
3. To what extent will exposure to cultural experiences increase the IQ score?
4. Do extra-class experiences, such as visits to industry and planned occupational information, affect occupational choices?

How This Study Differs

This study differs from similar studies which did not indicate that attention had been directed toward the Negro pupil in a completely segregated school in the South, where Negro children were deprived of cultural opportunities sometimes by tradition, sometimes by custom, and sometimes by law.

Thus, the present point of departure from any literature presented on the cultural deprivation of Negro pupils is the emphasis the present investigation will place on efforts

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[1] Mrs. V. Besselle Attwell was Director.

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designed to overcome the cultural deficiencies due largely to the segregation system.

The investigation also was an attempt to determine what can be done to enhance cultural growth within the framework of the present school facilities without a financial grant, since most schools will hardly receive extra financial assistance from any source.

Further, the investigation was an attempt to determine the extent of parental cooperation with school efforts that make extra-school experiences available to their children, even though there is an added expenditure of time and money.

Procedure

For the purposes of this experiment the high ninth grade was divided into two groups: (a) a comparison group and (b) an experimental group. One half of the high ninth grade students were used as a comparison unit. They were not permitted to attend or participate in any of the planned activities of the experimental group.

The second half of the high ninth grade students were used as an experimental group. One hundred and fifty pupils pledged themselves to participate in the project, 100 as full participants, and 50 as alternates.

Attendance

One of the hypotheses of this investigation was that interesting out-of-school experiences possessed holding power that might be exerted on the participants to the extent that they would be influenced to remain in school for a longer period of time.

The records indicate that 86 percent of the pupils remained in school as well as a part of the experimental project, while only 14 percent were replaced. On the other hand, 74 percent of the comparison group remained in school and 26 percent dropped out and had to be replaced with alternates. Thus, it appears that the participation in interesting extra-class activities and extra effort by the teacher can supplement the holding power of the school and decrease the dropout rate.

Academic Grades and Honors

It was found that academic achievements appeared to have increased due to out-of-school activities and experiences. At the completion of the study, 16 of the pupils participating in the program gained membership in the National Honor Society, and 41 were consistently on the school's honor roll. In order to get on the honor roll a pupil must make all A's or a minimum of 4 A's and 2 B's, with E in conduct in each subject.

According to the record only six students made an average of D; 35 a grade average of C; 33 a grade average of B; and 26 a grade average of A. The registrar's records also indicate that over a 3½-year period the academic grades of the experimental group were much better than those of the comparison group.

Increasing the IQ Score

Since IQ tests are essentially cultural tests, it then appears that such exposure might change the IQ of the project students. Mayer, in his book *The School,* observes that:

> A child's environment—the toys he has had, the challenges he has met—will certainly influence his score on any test. Nobody can separate a child's intelligence from his experience, his "thinking ability" from the information available to him when he thinks. . . . All intelligence tests then are measuring a child's past opportunity for learning as well as his inherited gift for learning.[2]

Davis claims that:

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[2] Martin Mayer. *The Schools.* New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1961. Excerpt in: "What IQ Tests Do Not Tell." *Science Digest* 50: 14; December 1961.

> . . . all responses to all items in all tests of general intelligence are inevitably influenced by the culture of the respondent.[3]

This experiment proposed to test this hypothesis by exposing the youngsters to a wide variety of cultural experiences that are not generally available in the classroom.

According to the data, the average IQ of the experimental group increased to 100.5, an increase of 7.6 for the two-year period. According to the results of the second test, the comparison group showed a gain of 3.0, thus raising the group average to 92.4 during the same period.

The slight increase in IQ average by the experimental group over the comparison group can probably be attributed to the extra-class experiences.

Occupational Aspirations

This phase of the study was an attempt to answer the question: "To what extent do extra-class experiences, such as visits to industry and planned occupational information, affect occupational choice?" A questionnaire was submitted to the students of both groups when the experiment began, in order to determine their occupational choices at that time. A second questionnaire was submitted to the experimental group after the pupils had been exposed to much occupational information through lectures and to new occupational opportunities through visits to industry.

The data of the first questionnaire indicated that the youngsters were leaning toward those occupational areas which Negroes traditionally enter. The second questionnaire indicated that the experimental group showed a drastic change after business and industrial visitations and lectures on occupational opportunities.

Off-Campus Activities

These volunteer students have been given an introduction to the arts. They have attended the opera, the symphony, and the ballet. They have been taken to see the collegiate world on campuses both inside the city and out. These young people have been taken to eat in restaurants which they normally could not afford and from which they were formerly barred.

The off-campus activities made the participants conscious of their personal appearance, their conduct, and social graces. It is significant that these youngsters, who prior to this experiment would have snickered, if not laughed, while watching a woman dance in leotards, today show appreciation for the ballet and other forms of art.

College Entrance

Three years after the young people volunteered to participate in the project, they graduated from high school. One of the by-products of the project was to determine the extent to which the students might be motivated to continue their education beyond secondary school.

According to the record, 29 percent of the project participants and 17 percent of the comparison group enrolled in college the following September. It appears that college campus visitations may have been a contributing factor in motivating a larger percentage of the experimental group to enter college.

Emerging from the data are the following conclusions:

1. The usual out-of-school activities of the schools are too meager and too limited.

2. More could be done to motivate deprived pupils, through planned out-of-school cultural enrichment activities, within the framework of the present curriculum.

3. Cultural enrichment experiences can

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[3] Allison Davis, Kenneth Eells, Robert J. Havighurst, Virgil E. Herrick, and Ralph Tyler. *Intelligence and Cultural Differences.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951. p. 25.

help disadvantaged pupils not only to want to remain in school, but also to improve their attendance.

4. There are many community resources that can be used to supplement classroom activities, with great profit to the child, at relatively little cost.

5. The pupil's capacity to achieve should not be "pegged" by an IQ score, as is so often done.

6. According to the data, the IQ of pupils can be increased through extra effort on the part of teachers and through planned extra-class experiences. ☐

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Poverty and Reeducation

P. F. AYER

POVERTY and reeducation imply that those who are poor may possibly become rich and that those who are ignorant may perhaps become wise. Yet composite equality in time and degree and by everybody, one by one by one for the whole mass, is impossible! Of course. What is there to be said, therefore, which has not already been said over and over—until we now live by its implication as if we truly and consciously believe it? Do we wish to take a look at poverty and reeducation for what they really are and for what they actually mean and, by doing so, run the risk of coming face to face with consequent and inescapable indications of what we ought therefore to do? I believe we do.

Of Mind and of Means

Who is poor? He who has less than another? He who has less than he might wish to have and might possibly acquire? Poverty is by definition a comparative term. Webster says poverty is "Any deficiency in what is desired" and also is "Lack of some particular element or quality." Had I written a dictionary I would have said of poverty, "Any state of being at less than the best possible for every individual and for the entire mass of creation of which each is one essential factor."

Less of what? Less of material goods, especially money, and all the other elements of what we in the United States call the "good life" is the usual answer. Yet this answer is incomplete. As a matter of fact, this answer itself is a valid measure of our lack of vision, our lack of desire, our lack of hope, our lack of "education"—meaning development. Poverty of mind and of spirit are related to poverty of means to supply material needs and wants. However, poverty of mind and spirit are elemental and basic and of prior concern in any hope or plan of successfully involving man in a search for fulfillment which will eradicate the poverty of each day just past and will create new wealth by comparison in each new day to come. This is true, of course, because the battle is never permanently won!

If poverty—and ignorance is poverty of

P. F. Ayer. In 1965, Executive Secretary, Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc., College Box 2307, Berea, Kentucky

the most basic sort—is any deficiency in what is needed and desired, then man will always be poor today in terms of what he should have and should become tomorrow. Similarly, he may, if he chooses, always be rich today compared with what he had, and compared to what he was, yesterday.

All this has been said before. It is implicit in what we write and in what we say and in what we hold up as the ideals and goals of organized education—the school system. Yet we persist in a myopic and undignified scramble to select and graduate only those who will do us and our methods and our system honor in their graduate achievement, by their professional status, or with their vocational earnings.

Operating within this habitual reaction pattern, reeducation is taken to mean simply the retraining of people. Through such retraining, they are expected to react without too much thought to new circumstances as they occur and to perform skillfully and for the highest pay possible new and routine tasks, while remaining unconcerned about any great human purpose or ultimate human destiny. Thus poverty, deep poverty of the mind and spirit, may become the norm even when and where economic prosperity and material security have been temporarily achieved.

To Nurture Life

First, then, we must recognize and really understand and believe that eagerness to see and to experience with all the senses, to know, to dream, to try and to fail, and to try again is synonymous with being alive. Thus our business—if we are to combat poverty with anything like an even chance to prevail—is to nurture this basic and almost but not quite indestructible life factor. This we must do throughout life—from birth through early childhood, in "preschool" situations, in "schools," among dropouts, for teachers and parents and people of every kind and condition.

When this inborn motivation has atrophied or has been practically destroyed, we must then rearouse in mankind, one by one by one, a new version of what he may perhaps now become—and, of course, have—which he now is not and does not now have. We must develop effective functional interrelationships between every man and his environment, including his friends and also those he believes to be his enemies and those he despises for no real cause except that he does not know them and erroneously imagines himself to be in competition with them even unto the death of one or the other.

If I have not lost your interest and—hopefully—your partnership already, think with me briefly about the specific problems about which one would be expected to write under this topic. Poverty in all its easily seen aspects—inadequate diet, poor housing, wretched clothing, no spending money, limited experience in the realm of concepts and communication of abstract ideas, uniform upper and middle class goals beyond mental reach and any reasonable hope of practical achievement—is the great factor of discrimination in this nation. Lack of intellectual potential is not disproportionately the norm among the poor and the children of the poor.

Rather an environment favorable to the development of intellectual potential does not exist for the poor either in preschool years or in early school experience or in the home and the community. Social acceptance is denied by the peer-age group. Faith in and shared responsibility for the recognition, development, and appropriate reward of full development of those who live in poverty are not universally evident among professional educators and the economically and socially secure segment of the whole population to whose position of advantage most education and reeducation are oriented. Poverty, therefore, is both the cause and the result of poverty—poverty of the mind, of the spirit, and of material goods.

"Reeducation," quoted straight from

the title of this statement, means "reeducation" of those whose formal schooling—or the lack of it in either time or quality, or both—leaves them at this moment in history unable to be needed, functional, and effective participants (for pay) in this society. It means compensatory education in the so-called preschool years, as a part of the public school responsibility and function or otherwise provided by society. It means a new faith in the possible intellectual—not merely "vocational"—potential of each child and adult and therefore adaptations and readaptations in our methods until we discover the key to the ongoing interest and continuing development of each and every one. It means working with the individual in school, after he has graduated, while he is employed, while he is unemployed, as he functions as a parent and a citizen, and as he tends to sign off and coast the rest of the way.

I purposely do not propose a plan or a curriculum because the irresistible and often valid response to specifics is "that wouldn't work here"; and with this attitude it would not work. What is required is that we arouse ourselves out of our satisfaction with our poverty of ideas and go on from here according to each particular situation and the possibilities it offers and will tolerate.

Reeducation under the compelling pressures of vast and deep poverty also means reeducation of those of us who have been right here on the job while this present situation came to pass. Just as the undereducated and unemployed and unneeded and poor person must be reeducated in order to become again a needed and a contributing and a self-supporting member of society, so also must the educated and the employed and the economically secure person be reeducated to understand the true nature of poverty.

To Begin the Dream

We must come to understand the true and relatively unlimited potential of each individual and to understand the total interrelationship and interdependence of all. We must begin to dream of what society must now do to make life a process of becoming rich tomorrow compared with our individual and mass poverty today. We must come to be concerned about our poverty tomorrow compared with our individual and social "wealth"—body, mind, and spirit—on the next day after that.

I am often called an idealist by those who mean to render a negative judgment by this term. They do me honor, though unwittingly, because there is but one alternative to idealism and that is acquiescence to poverty in its broadest meaning. I am also often told, "It is not that easy!" To this I reply, "Who said it is easy? Nobody, that's who!"

Must the conquest of poverty and ignorance be easy to be the only alternative to defeat? Must poverty—absolute and relative—be accepted as inevitable and beyond all hope of improvement merely because our present system of values and our present habitual and relatively comfortable methods have not yet been able either to alleviate it or to recognize our responsibility to do so? Has man reached the end of his road because we excuse ourselves by invalid clichés about the poor and the ignorant?

Mankind—one by one by one and en masse—is poor in body, mind, and spirit compared with what he could have, but may yet, become. Poverty (in personal income) and therefore retraining (to be temporarily competent in some new "job"—for pay) are matters of importance to give thought to in this world of increasing numbers of people faced by a decreasing need for what they have always been needed to do. Genuine understanding of man's inadequacy and effective reeducation which amounts to a daily becoming something more nearly what man was created to be are the two factors basic to any hope of overcoming gross poverty—both specific and general—by education worthy of the name. ☐

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Materials the Disadvantaged Need—and Don't Need

MARTIN HABERMAN

WHAT makes a book, a film, or a live fireman instructional material? What makes particular material of special use to the disadvantaged?

The disadvantaged are often defined operationally as those less predisposed, than some equally vague group of "others," to benefit from school programs. The causes of this condition are usually attributed to inadequacies at home—e.g., few material goods, sensory deprivation, a lack of basic information about the world, an absence of successful adult models, and inadequate amounts of loving care. For older children, the school program, with its overemphasis on reading and on abstract content, is often cited as the source and perpetuator of its own problems.

Given such assumptions, it is easy to understand the present search for preschool materials to replace what youngsters have missed. If they lack commodities—things, pictures, noises, smells, and even body warmth—then these materials are sought out and provided. For those already in school the causes of disadvantagement become subsumed under the rubric "underachievement," and the search for materials becomes a grasping at systems—i.e., approaches guaranteed to teach basic skills, notably reading, to all but the most severely disturbed or retarded. Once we have exposed our assumptions about what puts certain youngsters at a disadvantage in school, the materials, media, and methods we seek are predictable.

A cohesive view of the disadvantaged should include theoretical underpinnings from which to derive action programs.

Actually, experts in human development hunch that lower class children are likely to be exposed to even *more* stimulation than middle class children.[1]

Researchers also have suggested that there is no evidence of real differences in rate of development during the first two years, when such differences in stimulation would have to occur to have a lasting impact on development.[2]

The source of much of the impetus for the sensory deprivation approach comes from those who emphasize superficialities—e.g., the inability of many youngsters to attend to the teacher's voice. Yet whether couched in terms of scholarly research efforts to explain the neurological development of infants, or programmed into tape recorders to help four-year-olds pick out the teacher's voice in a noisy classroom, sensory deprivation is an insufficient explanation.

Perceiving disadvantagement as an ab-

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[1] J. McV. Hunt. "How Children Develop Intellectually." *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 10: 209-48; 1964.

[2] Hilda Knobloch and B. Pasamanick. "Environmental Factors Affecting Human Development, Before and After Birth." *Pediatrics* 26: 210-18; 1960.

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sence of concrete and life experiences can result in a shallow emphasis on field trips, color cards, and geometric blocks. Yet just as scholars offer little, beyond their conflicting opinions, regarding which concepts are "keys" to their disciplines, psychologists can suggest little regarding which concrete and life experiences are critical to normal development. When is lack of knowledge or experience merely ignorance and when is it the cause of subsequent and cumulative retardation in the ability to form concepts? Teachers indicate more pervasive and lasting benefits for children who learn to use "or, but, how, if, and when"—in any content area —than any information gained from scurrying around on field trips.

Bereiter makes the most cogent argument for deemphasizing the lack of concrete experiences as *the* causal explanation.

> Blind children, on the average, show little or no intellectual and academic deficiency, whereas deaf children are typically about ten points below normal in I.Q. and show gross inadequacies in academic achievement. . . . this finding may be interpreted as meaning that deaf children are culturally deprived in much the way that lower-class children are deprived, regardless of their home backgrounds. It would appear from this that social class opportunities for concrete experiences either do not exist or are not important, whereas lack of opportunity for language experience has serious effects that closely correspond to those found in cultural deprivation.[3]

My basic assumption is that those who are less able to move from the social uses of language to the levels of conceptualization and transmission will be disadvantaged in schools and in American society generally. Bernstein's formulation of how linguistic codes can trap children into self-perpetuating restrictions, or propel them into lifelong elaborations, provides a basis for both understanding and planning programs for the disadvantaged.[4] The suggestions for materials which follow derive from this belief that adding to children's language codes should be the critical purpose of special programs.

An Approach to Materials and Experiences

I recently had two opportunities of working with six-year-olds. On an individual basis, I took children who had not yet spoken in school or who were speaking in very restricted, limited ways to do the following:

Feel carpets

Taste fruits and vegetables

Visit a motel swimming pool

Throw rocks into Lake Michigan

Steer my automobile around a vacant field.

As a group, using private cars, we took a whole class of almost nonverbal six-year-olds to visit a suburban school. The children observed classroom activities, displays of children's work, and physical facilities.

While there is much to criticize in these activities, I found that using these materials and experiences stimulated the youngsters to talk more than ever before. They were encouraged to describe and react, and even more, to compare, contrast, explain, and summarize. We began with no commitment to any material or subject matter but with a behavioral objective—to get youngsters to express and to share ideas.

Once children reach the age when teachers feel pressured to teach reading, the search for materials often deteriorates into a search for a systematized reading program. While no reasonable person is against the teaching of reading, the critical question is the degree to which each child will have a hand in expressing his need, his readiness, his way of learning. Those who understand the nature of development and the struggles of the disadvantaged recognize that language development is broader than reading and that intellectual development is more pervasive than the ability to call the written word at the earliest possible age.

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[3] Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann. *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966. pp. 30-31. © 1966. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[4] Basil Bernstein. "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences." *American Anthropologist* 66 (6): 55-69; December 1964. Special Publication, Part 2. "The Ethnography of Communication."

Representatives of private industry, foundations, publishers, and funding offices of government have introduced the concept of "teacher-proof packaging of systems," to indicate their search for materials which will guarantee the teaching of reading by even the least able teachers. Field tests report the notable success of using S.R.A., Lubach, i/t/a, Sullivan, Words in Color, the Detroit Series, the Bank Street Readers, pocket books, and local ethnic newspapers.

It is difficult to deny this "evidence" on the basis of feelings and hunches of classroom teachers. Yet it seems to me, and to those who make detailed analyses of all materials for teaching the disadvantaged, that *there is no ultimate system* for teaching reading or anything else; that what is needed is a variety of approaches and materials in each class.[5]

The interests, predispositions, and learning styles of youngsters can help them to select materials. While there is no best material for all, there are better materials for individual pupils—and the "better" materials are those which pupils and teachers help to select and control.

> Although the availability of certain kinds of materials in the classroom is a necessary part of a program for intellectual development, neither the existence of certain pieces of equipment in the room, nor the development of specific kinds of experiences will guarantee maximum intellectual growth in the children. This can only be accomplished by the teacher's synthesis of a variety of experiences and the use of many kinds of materials concentrating on specific learning.[6]

The School Learning Center

One effective approach to developing and using materials with the disadvantaged is the creation of a learning center.[7] Since this approach involves three full-time teachers using three classrooms to cover only two teaching loads, it may very well be that the significant factors that have been added are teacher time and attention. But the addition of a listening center, films, pictures, filmstrips, records, transparencies, science materials, language kits, and a wide variety of additional materials seems to be part of what is making the difference.

Youngsters are not plugged into systems with "no-exit do-loops," but work with materials in small groups and on an individual basis. Materials are prescribed for and chosen by youngsters. This may sound like a mushy, poorly controlled approach, but recent research is supporting many of our experiential beliefs. A recent study of over 600,000 youngsters indicates that the disadvantaged feel helpless—and that this perception of powerlessness is not removed by innovations which *others* initiate.

> It appears that variations in facilities and curriculums of schools account for relatively little variation in pupil achievement as measured by standardized tests. . . . A pupil

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[5] Conversation with Rose D. Risikoff, Curriculum Consultation Service, Bank Street College of Education, New York City.

[6] Helen F. Robison and Bernard Spodek. *New Directions in the Kindergarten.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1965. p. 145. Copyright © 1965 by Teachers College, Columbia University. Reprinted with the permission of the publisher.

[7] The Howell Elementary School, Racine, Wisconsin, is a good demonstration of the learning center approach. J. Sullivan, A. Hovgaard, and J. Ban are the teachers involved.

> attitude factor, which appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all the "school" factors together, is the extent to which an individual feels he has control over his destiny. . . . Minority pupils, except for Orientals, have far less conviction than whites that they can affect their own environments and futures. When they do, however, their achievement is higher than whites who lack that conviction.[8]

If feeling powerful is central to what the disadvantaged learn, then what better means for building in feelings of control over their environment could they have than participation in the selection of materials?

Real *vs.* Fake Materials

As part of the learning center described here, we tried two experiences that have implications for determining what causes certain materials to be effective. First, we tried to involve some fifth graders in a unit that would tell us about their interests and self-perceptions by asking them to fill a nonexistent time capsule. We told them that people would dig this capsule up in the future and learn all about them—provided they stocked it with pictures, songs, stories, tapes, and whatever they wanted to use in order to preserve themselves for posterity. There are many good reasons why the children did not become involved in this unit, but one of the better explanations is that there was not really a capsule being sunk into the school yard.

The second attempt at getting the pupils to describe themselves was to have each youngster write something on a card, place it into his own special balloon, and allow it to float away. The balloons went for hundreds of miles and came down in the eastern United States and Canada. As a result, the pupils received real letters asking for more information about themselves, their activities, and their community.

This example supports what we all know; that 10-year-old youngsters deal more easily with the real than with the imaginary and prefer to be in the present rather than in the future. It also suggests that materials which are authentic will involve pupils. It is the need for honesty rather than merely concreteness that is the critical element. The time capsule was a contrived experience but the balloons were real.

A Centralized but Teacher-Controlled Materials Center

Another materials program that seems to work effectively is a centralized materials center which caters to the needs of particular teachers and classes. Individual teachers can receive literally crates of materials containing books, pictures, films, filmstrips, objects, transparencies, and other materials organized around some unit of study.

This means that available material has been organized around some topic and drawn together, rather than separated on the basis of whether the material is a film, a book, etc. The real values of such a program are that each teacher can receive several crates of materials each week and keep the material for a full week to use at the most opportune time. Yet even more, individual teachers can and do request the purchase of new materials and the discarding of outdated materials—and have their advice acted upon.

The most efficient such materials center I have visited is in Racine, Wisconsin. Here an interview revealed:

> Teachers of the disadvantaged have markedly increased their requests for materials in the past few years.
>
> Materials used by teachers of the disadvantaged are soon requested by all other teachers.
>
> Whereas the main source of new mate-

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[8] James S. Coleman *et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966. pp. 22-23. Superintendent of Documents Catalog No. FS5.238:38001.

rials for the system used to be the needs and recommendations of teachers in suburban-type schools, the teachers of the disadvantaged have become the source of introducing materials into the district.

The drive for new materials is greatest among classroom teachers and more common among consultant supervisors than building principals.

The teachers of the intermediate grades make the most requests, but primary level requests are catching up.

Secondary teachers make few if any requests for materials and seem to rely on an occasional film and texts.

Film ordering and use have leveled off and requests for a wider variety of materials have become more usual.

The multi-media approach, including tapes, strips, transparencies, and slides, has replaced the overdependence on films.[9]

The director of this center indicates some outstanding strengths of this approach to be: the ongoing ordering which enables teachers to make requests for new purchases at any time in the school year; the multimedia materials included in the crates; and the fact that while social studies, language arts, and science are the most popular content areas, art and music materials are being requested more frequently. It is also noteworthy that since teachers explain their problems when they call up to place orders for materials, they are revealing decreasing amounts of prejudice and an increased understanding of the disadvantaged. It may seem like hairsplitting, but when teachers change from seeking materials that will force or guarantee learning for all to the requesting of materials for eliciting individual development, this would, I believe, indicate a change in their influence on pupils.

The key organizational point in this example is that in a system covering 40 schools and more than 1,200 teachers, centralization is used as a force for individualizing teacher requests. Some believe it would be better for each school to duplicate miniature centers. Actually the economies effected by one main but efficient depot enable the center to have the means to be responsive to individual teacher requests. Finally, this approach has resulted in a large urban system's not having to rely on packaged systems or "teacher-proof" materials. Rather, this approach has created a situation in which individual teachers are requesting ever increasing amounts of more varied materials.

And So . . .

We now, I believe, have had sufficient experiences with gadgeterial seduction, with packaged teacher-proof systems and programs of step-by-step control of materials, as means for involving and teaching the disadvantaged. We seem to be entering a more professional phase in which the differentiation of pupil activities is once again becoming accepted as the critical criterion of teacher effectiveness. In order to execute such differentiation, each teacher needs a variety of materials which he can help the pupils to mediate and control on the classroom level.

Computers have been proposed as the ultimate media for reaching all youngsters. Yet while computers may individualize instruction in the sense of differentiating tasks, they cannot personalize. If our assumptions that a variety of language forms and the power to help shape one's situation are the most critical needs of the disadvantaged, then plugging people into walls may be a cure-all for a nonexistent disease.

Living and learning are synonyms and all the "stuff" of life is instructional material. The development of thinking processes neither precedes nor follows language development, but occurs as an oscillation; new terms trigger new relationships which lead to other words for handling new concepts.

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[9] Conversation with William D. Grindland, Director, Instructional Materials Center, Racine Public Schools, Racine, Wisconsin, December 1966.

All youngsters need to develop a language that will go beyond immediate social and material needs to usages that will help them to share ideas, control their own behavior, and engage in the processes of thinking.

Materials which foster growth of multiple language forms—in a variety of content areas—are of particular benefit to the disadvantaged. Yet language is not merely a tool, and improving the language of the disadvantaged is not simply to facilitate learning in the rest of the curriculum. Quite the contrary, the curriculum, its materials and experiences, is the instrumentality for teaching a variety of subject matter languages in their several forms. ☐

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When Students Teach Others

JOHN W. LANDRUM
MARY D. MARTIN

A BASIC tenet of compensatory education is that the academic potential of poor children is depressed by an inadequate self-concept and weak motivation. Primarily the school, rather than the community or the parents, creates the environment within which the child perceives himself as unable to succeed and protects his battered self-image by choosing not to try.

"One-to-One" Project

The "One-to-One" tutorial project of the Los Angeles County Schools Office posed three hypotheses regarding the solution of these problems: (a) that the process of teaching is an extremely effective method of learning; (b) that one's sense of power and worth is enhanced by success in a teaching role; and (c) that this success will motivate behavior suitable for maintenance of a more positive self-image and improved performance in school.

Funds for summer programs for youth made available by the Office of Economic Opportunity through the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Greater Los Angeles as a part of the War on Poverty made a testing of the above hypotheses possible. The program exceeded expectations in the initial year and was expanded in subsequent summers to 18 school districts with additional support through Neighborhood Youth Corps and ESEA Title I funds.

Initial performance objectives of the One-to-One project were stated as follows:

1. Upon completion of the six-week session, the tutors' mean reading grade placement score will be increased by six months as measured by a standardized reading achievement test.

2. Upon completion of the six-week session, the tutees' mean reading grade placement score will be increased by three months as measured by a standardized reading achievement test.

3. Following participation in the program, the number of days that tutors are absent

John W. Landrum, Director, and Mary D. Martin, Consultant, Federal Projects Task Force, Office of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools, Los Angeles, California

from school will be 50 percent of their absenteeism for the previous school year.

4. Following participation in the program, 95 percent of the tutors will complete the subsequent year of school.

Other purposes were related to the employment of low-income youth, the involvement of the community, and demonstration of the model to school districts.

Only three factors were considered in the selection of tutors: (a) scores two years or more below actual grade placement on standardized reading tests; (b) either dropouts of high school age or those who were dropout-prone as indicated by absenteeism, failing grades, or stated intent; and (c) low family income in conformance with the policies of the funding agency.

Tutors were aware of the income requirement, but the popularity of Head Start and the Neighborhood Youth Corps for which low income was also a qualifying factor had long since offset sensitivity about being identified as poor. Tutors were not apprised of the other two requirements, but instead were honestly assured that we believed in their potential for teaching reading to younger children.

For the successful student, the opportunity to function as a tutor involves status and consequently may be motivating in itself. For the potential dropout, the opportunity to earn money is a more realistic inducement. Consequently, the tutors were offered hourly wages at Neighborhood Youth Corps rates.

The project was scheduled during the regular summer school program, which permitted use of the facilities and services at elementary school sites. Each tutoring unit was assigned one teacher-supervisor and from five to seven tutors. During the first two-hour period, each tutor was assigned one elementary student—a fourth, fifth, or sixth grader who was behind in reading. During the second period, the tutors worked with a second group of tutees.

Employment of a teacher-supervisor for each unit added considerably to the cost of the project, but was essential to ensure that the tutors would experience success. The teacher-supervisor trained the tutors in the use of a variety of materials, equipment, and methods. He reviewed each tutor's lesson plans and helped the tutors to assess the progress of their tutees. The tutors received wages both for a week of preservice training and for a daily hour of planning time. This extra time also was utilized for home visitations by the tutor.

A Typical Tutor

To illustrate how One-to-One typically affects participants, let us review the case of one tutor. Maria, at 16, had just completed her sophomore year in high school. She informed the Neighborhood Youth Corps coordinator that she probably would not return to school in the fall. She had failed sophomore English and she felt that repeating the course would be very distasteful to her. Besides, she viewed her own future exclusively in terms of marriage.

She felt that her rather heavy household responsibilities in caring for younger children and cleaning and cooking while her mother worked were more than adequate preparation for a homemaking career. She had fallen into the habit of missing a day of school each week, usually with the complaint of a headache or toothache.

Maria applied for a summer job with the In-School Neighborhood Youth Corps. She was surprised, but self-consciously pleased, when asked to be a tutor. She approached the first training session with careful diffidence. The teacher-supervisor did not comment on the rollers in her hair and also ignored the burgeoning beard sprouting on the chin of a fellow tutor. At the end of the second day, Maria borrowed an individual tachistoscope and practiced using it with her younger sister.

On the day that work was to begin with the tutees, Maria was frightened. However, her tutoring group had planned activities for the first day which would put the tutees at ease and get everyone acquainted. She had helped arrange the room and knew how to use the equipment and she felt a nervous eagerness to show all this to her tutees. At the end of that first day, a fifth grader looked up at Maria and asked, "I'll see you tomorrow, huh?" Maria promised that he would.

Maria's teacher-supervisor understood the tutor's need for support and encouragement. He insisted that Maria be prepared for each day with a variety of activities and helped her assess the reading growth of her tutees. As her charges learned, her own confidence expanded and she saw herself differently than she had before. The teacher-supervisor cautioned her about being too demanding in her zeal as a tutor.

Maria was fastidiously groomed on the day of her first visit to the home of Billy, one of her tutees. The poverty criterion did not apply to the selection of tutees, and this child lived in a middle class neighborhood with homes quite different from those Maria knew in the barrio. Billy's mother had heard glowing accounts of Maria and had observed with delight her son's eagerness to go to school and his new interest in reading. Maria was received as a very special guest.

Although Maria's malingering had previously been a problem, during the six weeks of tutoring she did not miss a day. In fact, she usually arrived early to review her lesson plans and often walked home with one of her tutees.

Maria returned to school that fall. Attendance was never again a problem, and she received no grades below a "C." Recently she talked to her counselor about becoming a teacher.

Variations on One-to-One

Many variations of the one-to-one, students-teach-others concept are possible, given two constants: (a) tutors who have had learning problems, and (b) assignment of tutors on a one-to-one basis.

A variety of strategies may be introduced to meet objectives which may readily be reduced to measurable performance terms and ultimately examined in terms of their relative costs and effectiveness. Such an approach may permit school managers to gain experience with the emerging planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS).

Participating school districts have varied the model for incorporation in the regular school year. One particularly successful approach appears to be tutoring of elementary students during the regular school day for which the tutor receives course credit. Programs which tack tutoring onto the school day as a volunteer activity have had only limited success.

One district has developed objectives related to the problems of desegregation and integration. The close, personal tutor-tutee relationship provides an opportunity for children of different ethnic and racial backgrounds to share experiences which are genuine and meaningful and which effect more positive intergroup attitudes on the part of both children and parents.

Plans are being made to expand One-to-One tutoring in mathematics and other subject areas.

Assessment of the One-to-One Model

The Los Angeles County Schools tutorial model has been tried under the varying circumstances of 16 school districts over a period of three years. Gains in reading achievement scores have consistently exceeded our expectations. Figure 1 indicates the gains achieved by tutors and tutees during each summer of the program.

Funds were not provided to conduct a

Tutors	N	Months Gain
Summer 1967	69	8 months
Summer 1968	343	8.5 months

Tutees	N	Months Gain
Summer 1967	78	4.6 months
Summer 1968	686	4.8 months

Figure 1. Gains in Reading Grade Placement Scores During a Six-Week One-to-One Tutorial Program

follow-up study of tutors. District procedures for collecting such data were neither uniform nor thorough and did not allow for the highly mobile character of the target population. Nevertheless, such data as are available make it apparent that the tutor is more apt to attend school regularly, to obtain passing grades, and eventually to complete high school than are the students with similar problems who do not have the tutoring experience.

When students who are near casualties of the education process teach others through One-to-One, conditions are provided which maximize participants' opportunities for involvement. Tutors, in fact, become teachers. They quickly recognize that their role is genuine and not contrived. □

4

THE SEARCH FOR THEORY

The myths I have talked about are in a sense descriptive theories that have been used to prescribe practice. It is not that the theory is necessarily wrong but that the use of these theories is sometimes unintelligent. What we need are more and better theories, not less theorizing. Macdonald, p. 96.

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Myths About Instruction

JAMES B. MACDONALD

R. G. H. SIU says: "The American way of life is a doing way. . . . The guiding axiom is seldom: 'If you don't know what to do, do nothing.' It is instead: 'If you don't know what to do, do something.' "[1]

It is the "doingness" of us all that is essentially the root of instructional mythology. We are impatient, pressured, anxious; and we have lost our sense of humor and therefore our perspective. We are pushed, driven, and compelled beyond the usual "doing" to a sort of frenetic activity. We are, in short, a group in search of prescriptions for symptoms of problems we perceive and symptoms we are told we possess.

Our symptoms are practically endless and are called a variety of names. For example: mediocrity in the schools; sentimental and softheaded philosophies of education; technological foot dragging; bureaucratic short circuitry of innovation by the "establishment"; intellectual myopia; and so on. . . .

In fact, as I witness the onslaught of social forces upon professional educators I have been reminded of a wonderful motion picture I once saw called "The Trouble with Harry." I have forgotten much of the specific plot, but what remains in mind is a delightful sequence of scenes involving New England citizens spending a period of time digging up and burying "Harry" in order that his demise not be discovered. The motive for this behavior, which I no longer remember, was a perfectly understandable and acceptable (from their point of view) one.

The "Trouble with Education," by analogy, may be that it is already dead as a meaningful enterprise, and the efforts of the "establishment" are not attempts to cure symptoms at all, but really a series of episodes of digging up and reburying the corpse so that society won't find out.

If this is in fact true, most of us are not willing to admit it. We have accepted the social diagnosis of illness rather than demise, and we are busy listing our symptoms and prescribing for them. The area of instruction reflects this attitude and activity as do most other areas of concern in education.

We have in effect accepted automatically the view that we are sick and need new prescriptions to make us well rather than either acknowledging our own demise, on one hand, or suggesting that the social perspective that defines our symptoms may be what is indeed "sick," rather than the enterprise of education itself.

It is the *prescriptions* we desire that generate our need for myths and, for purposes here, specifically our myths about instruction. Whether or not these prescriptions are really a process of digging up and reburying, or a social game imposed on us from the outside, or an actual attempt to right real ills will be left up to the reader to decide.

We live in a world of metaphors. Our word and other symbolic pictures help us make sense out of potential chaos. The

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[1] R. G. H. Siu. "The TAO of Science." Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1957.

James B. Macdonald, Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. In 1965, at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

simplest semantics primer tells us however that the *word* is not the thing. Yet man must be constantly reminded that his symbols are not in one-to-one correspondence with reality. He must be continually halted from prescribing action on the basis of his metaphors as if they were reality.

Our metaphors become our myths in the sense used here when they are accepted uncritically—that is, when metaphors are accepted without subjecting them to some reasoned, or phenomenological, or empirical process of validation.

All metaphors are possibly valid. But as Erich Fromm [2] has remarked, the difference between pathological thinking and sane thinking rests on the difference between what is possible and what is probable. Our instructional metaphors are possible, but are they probable?

When metaphors are possible explanations but are accepted uncritically as prescriptions for action, they are myths. They are in reality rationalizations which, because of their possibility for explaining something, can be attached to instruction for reasons which may have little to do with the actual nature of the situation. Our myths about instruction are more or less of this nature. We, in effect, prescribe instructional practices on the basis of possibility but unknown probability of validity, and the motives or moving forces for prescription are probably not central to the nature of instruction itself.

Common Myths

I should like to discuss six prevalent myths of instruction to illustrate my points. When I speak of instruction I mean the actual classroom interaction of pupils, teachers, and materials. The myths are more or less probable in their truth value, yet all are still more clearly in the realm of possibility only. All these myths also have other "non-instructional" motivating forces of considerable import, and all are being offered as a prescription for instruction. These myths are: the myth of learning theory, the myth of human development, the myth of the structure of the disciplines, the myth of modes of inquiry, the interaction analysis myth, and the myth of rational decision making or technical efficiency.

All of these myths share a common place in our prescriptions for instruction. Each has been used as a basis for prescribing instructional practices; each is a possible way of looking at instruction; each has an unknown probability of being a valid view of instruction; and each possesses powerful motivating forces for acceptance as a basis for prescriptions which emanate from sources outside the context of the instructional setting.

The Myth of Learning Theory

Professor Bruner [3] has already exposed the myth of learning theory to a wide audience. In St. Louis two years ago, he commented at length about the meaning of learning theory for instruction. His basic point, as interpreted by me for my purpose here, was that learning theory is descriptive. It is after the fact. It tells what happened. As such it is not necessarily a basis for prescribing what to do—for in Bruner's terms an instructional theory must be a prescriptive theory.

His example will bear repeating here. Simply because learning can be described as, or be said to take place in, small increments which are built up by processes of reinforcement, it does not necessarily follow that this is the best manner in which learning tasks should be presented. It certainly points out the *possibility* that this is so, but it says little about the validated probability of this being true.

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[2] Erich Fromm. *May Man Prevail.* New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1961.

[3] Jerome Bruner. "Needed: A Theory of Instruction." *Educational Leadership* 20 (8): 523-32; May 1963.

The appearance of a profusion of programmed materials in the past two years is witness to the use of reinforcement theory as a basis for prescription in instruction. The reasonable success of these materials is then said to validate the theory behind them as a basis for prescription. There are many problems in accepting this position. If reinforcement theory is a valid description of learning, and if programmed materials are a valid operational instructional form or embodiment of reinforcement theory, then results should demonstrate the technique to be far superior to the usual approach.

Consider, for example, the usual schedule of reinforcement given by teachers. As Skinner[4] has remarked, in the usual operation reinforcement is not systematic; it is often absent or delayed to the point where the relation between stimulus-response and reinforcement is impossibly polluted by intervening experiences. This being acknowledged here, the results of programmed materials, if this approach is really modeled after the nature of learning, should surpass those of the usual approaches by extremely large actual as well as statistically significant differences. To date there is no evidence to indicate this overwhelming superiority, or even a consistent statistical superiority.

May I remind the reader that programmed instruction is not the issue here. What is at issue is the claim that reinforcement theory is a valid basis for prescription of instructional practices. So far, the instructional form, programmed instruction, does little to validate this claim.

The leap from description to prescription is a leap of faith based upon factors not necessarily relevant to instruction. There is no good purpose to be served, here, by quarreling with the good intentions of the prescribers or their prescriptions. Nevertheless, the wholesale adoption of instructional prescription in education on the basis of psychological metaphors, such as learning theory, is primarily an act of faith. It can be as readily explained by the climate of acceptance of psychology in our culture, or the need for educators to present "respectable" rationales, or perhaps the more recent effrontery of psychologists, as it can by the empirical validity of its use in instruction.

The Myth of Human Development

The myth of human development refers to the promise of sound prescriptions for instructional practice which grow out of our understanding of the development of the human. We are all quite willing to admit the possibility that developmental knowledge has relevance for instructional practice, but a problem arises when the probability of its relevance is considered. It should be clear by now that a prescription for practice that is acceptable to all should have a reasonably high probability of being valid. Most developmentally based instructional prescriptions do not achieve this state of grace.

Ausubel has remarked, with reference to the relevance of human growth and development knowledge for instruction, that, "unfortunately, it must be admitted that at present our discipline can offer only a limited number of very crude generalizations and highly tentative suggestions bearing on the issue."[5] He suggests the need for much engineering level research before we embark upon any wholesale prescriptions or application to practice.

According to Ausubel, the concept of readiness is one such generalization that suffers from lack of particularizing its meaning in curriculum contexts. He points out the confusion between the concepts of readiness and maturation and remarks that the unfolding or "internal ripening" concept fits well with sensorimotor and neuromuscular sequences during the prenatal and early infancy periods. However, he believes that there is an unwarranted extrapolation of the knowledge to more complex and variable components of later cognitive and behavioral development.

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[4] B. F. Skinner. "The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching." *Harvard Educational Review* 24 (2): 86-97; 1954.

[5] David Ausubel. "Viewpoints from Related Disciplines: Human Growth and Development." *Teachers College Record* 60: 245-54; February 1959.

The instructional process of self-selection is another unwarranted extrapolation, according to Ausubel. Logical deduction from nutritional studies in early infancy are not sound reasoning ventures. Thus, it is interesting that infants will select a balanced diet if given the opportunity. Yet this fact is not generalizable to the provision of self-selection activities in the instructional process.

As a matter of fact, it seems highly unlikely that any developmental knowledge, for example Gesell's ages and stages, has direct use for instruction. Even the fact of individual differences is only descriptive of what we may expect to find—it does not offer a specific basis for prescribing instructional procedures. On the contrary, our knowledge of human development has most probably had its greatest effect upon our attitudes toward children. And it might well be argued that our concern for the individual was projected into human development studies out of the value matrix of Western culture.

The point made here is that our developmental metaphors are interesting and reasonably valid within the contexts in which they were developed. When these metaphors are extrapolated and projected onto instructional settings they lose a considerable portion of their validity and become much less probable as valid bases for prescribing instructional practices.

The Myth of the Structure of the Disciplines

As if it were not enough to contend with behavioral science prescriptions, we are at present busily prescribing for instruction in terms of the pressures and recommendations of academic scholars. In this case the scholars are said to be those persons primarily involved in the business of creating and transmitting the knowledge of a given discipline.

This concept was clearly hinted at in Bruner's *The Process of Education* and has been developed in some detail by Schwab[6] and others. Essentially it is proposed that each discipline has a set of fundamental ideas or principles about which the fabric of knowledge in each discipline is woven. This being so, the logic goes, what is needed is a well planned development of a program to communicate this structure to the student. Bruner's stated assumption, that "anything worth teaching can be taught in some form at all levels," catches the spirit of this conceptualization well. It is suggested from this that we identify the structure, form it in meaningful terms at all levels, and proceed to prescribe instructional content.

The basic fallacy of this conclusion is similar to the previous criticism of learning theory. Structure is an after-the-fact description of the way knowledge can be organized by mature scholars. It is not the basis from which the knowledge itself was developed. Further, as a coherent way of organizing a field of knowledge, it does not necessarily follow that this is the way to organize knowledge in the instructional setting.

Ortega y Gasset,[7] in another context, talks in a similar vein. In an essay "On Studying and the Student," he says (I paraphrase):

> A truth does not exist in and of itself but rather it exists for those who have need of it, a science is not a science except for those who eagerly search for it. . . .

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[6] Joseph L. Schwab. "Structures of the Disciplines: Meanings and Significances." In: G. W. Ford and Lawrence Pugno, editors. *The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum.* New York: Rand McNally, Paperback Series in Curriculum, 1964.

[7] José Ortega y Gasset. "Sobre el Estudiar y el Estudiante." *La Nación* de Buenos Aires, April 23, 1933.

> . . . For those who do not need it, science (or truth) is a series of words or, if you wish, ideas, which although they are not understood one by one they need, in short, a meaning. To truly understand something one does not need talent or previous knowledge. What *is* needed is an elemental but fundamental condition, that which one needs is to *need* it.
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> . . . What is a student? The student is a human being, male or female, upon whom life has imposed the necessity of studying ideas which the student himself has not included among his true necessities. With rare exceptions a student merely feels a sincere but vague necessity to study "something," to "know something." It is evident that such a spiritual state as this has not created knowledge, because knowledge is always concrete, it is knowing precisely this or precisely that; and according to what I have previously said—Those who created knowledge, created it because they felt, not a vague desire, but the concreteness of taking advantage of some determined thing. . . . The creator did not encounter the science first and *then* feel the necessity of possessing it, but rather he first felt the vital and not scientific necessity to search for his satisfaction.
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> . . . On the other hand, the student encounters the science already made. As a ridge of mountains rising up before him, it closes that *vital* road. . . . Thus, it deals with an external necessity which is imposed upon him. By putting a man in the position of being a student one is obliged to do something false, to pretend that the student feels a necessity which he does not feel.

There are further puzzling questions that arise when the structure notion is examined in detail. For example, Robert Karplus [8] had described the basic structure of the physical world in terms of the concepts of *objects, systems,* and *interaction.* Thus, all physical phenomena can be conceptualized in terms of systems composed of objects in interaction. As a framework this can be elaborated in specified terms when we are dealing with electricity, levers, or any other of the usual physics units. Karplus prescribes that we teach these basic concepts in the primary school as a basis for making the physical world more meaningful or perhaps as advance organizers for the physical science program.

It could be argued however that these concepts are more in the order of a structure of knowledge than a structure of one discipline. As such, it is as useful to organize knowledge about language or social phenomena in these terms as it is the physical world. For example, words could be seen as objects, sentences described as systems, and varieties of grammatical construction proposed as the interactions of objects in systems.

If this is the case, then the structure of a discipline is really a generalized structure of knowledge. And if this follows, then the disciplines are not truly separate, or have no distinctive structure. In either case the concept of structure becomes less tenable.

Ortega y Gasset might well argue that the structure of knowledge is created by man, not discovered. Thus the structures we are busily finding today are akin to Jung's collective myths. They are basic substances of human potential for thought that are available to all disciplines under the proper circumstances.

The concept of the structure of the disciplines in no way avoids the criticisms that have been leveled at subject matter curricula for the past fifty years, although it is perhaps a more efficient and useful way of thinking about knowledge. As a metaphor it suggests interesting possibilities for instruction. As a prescription it has much less probability of validity for instruction than it has in the realm of philosophical discourse about the nature of knowledge.

We should also be alerted to the fact that there is some concern among academic scholars about the concept of structure in the disciplines. We would probably be well advised to let the scholars decide the issue, but it behooves us to follow their inner squabbles carefully. It would not do to be caught prescribing practice wholesale from the concept of structure about the time scholars finally decided that there was no productive use for the concept of structure in at least some of the disciplines.

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[8] Robert Karplus. "One Physicist Looks at Science Education." In: A. Harry Passow and Robert R. Leeper, editors. *Intellectual Development: Another Look.* Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1964. pp. 78-98.

We should also be cautioned by the fact that we are quite willing to adopt this concept because it has academic respectability. No matter what validity there is to the concept, we must realize that prescriptions growing from the structure idea are approved generally by critics of education and when we, as educators, accept this language we reduce the chances of criticism and become more respectable. Further, the critics and "outside" newcomers to educational prescription are vocal and powerful. It is important to reaffirm that under these circumstances the concept of structure is a metaphor of unknown validity as a prescriptive base for instruction.

The Myth of Modes of Inquiry

The modes of inquiry fall into the same general category of criticism as structure. Modes of inquiry are, I suppose, what mature scholars say they do, after they have done it and reflected upon what they did. They are abstractions from behavior. Would they have done the same things, discovered the same things, if their own instruction had been ordered specifically by the use of the concept of the modes of inquiry? There is, in other words, no necessary logic that says that, because man can be said to discover knowledge in a given way, ipso facto his instruction should be organized and presented for learning purposes in the same fashion.

There is considerable difficulty with this concept. How many modes of inquiry are there? Does each discipline have its own unique mode of inquiry? When scientists are asked what the scientific method is, they are prone to respond with—*which one?* Does a biologist never use an experimental procedure? What modes of inquiry are appropriate only to political scientists? The attempt to associate one unique mode with each accepted discipline is fraught with difficulty. However, if we admit that modes of inquiry are not inherent in any given discipline, the case for distinct modes of inquiry at all becomes less tenable. It is, in fact, difficult to get agreement and specificity beyond a *reflective thinking generalization,* if we once allow for the necessity of what one could call adjunct technical skills which vary among the disciplines.

There is much talk about the modes of inquiry, but little specification in concrete terms of what these inquiry modes look like in practice. Richard Suchman[9] has perhaps presented us with the most concrete model in his Inquiry Training procedure. I personally find this procedure intriguing and usable. Yet what discipline is this specifically a model for? Are we to believe that a perceptual or ideational discrepancy followed by a simulated "Twenty Questions" procedure is unique to physics? Chemistry? Economics? History? Or what?

The point here is not a criticism of this procedure, but an illustration that the most prominent and widely known specification of an inquiry practice—courageously espoused by Suchman—does not fit any given discipline.

Indeed, we are most likely witnessing an example of a concrete format to allow for the appearance of what Dewey called reflective thinking. A reflective thinking metaphor returns us to a previously espoused position and therefore adds nothing startling or revolutionary ideationally for serving as a basis for prescriptive practices.

This very observation might serve to

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[9] Richard J. Suchman. "The Child and the Inquiry Process." In: A. Harry Passow and Robert R. Leeper, editors. *Intellectual Development: Another Look.* Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1964.

enlighten us about the possible motivations for the rather positive acceptance of the idea of modes of inquiry among educators. Modes of inquiry are processes of discovering or creating knowledge. They are dynamic concepts—action concepts. There is an easy possibility of correlating modes of inquiry and activity curriculums. The concept of modes of inquiry may have gained in acceptability simply because the "establishment" is comfortable with this terminology and finds it to be more easily incorporated into preexistent metaphors.

In any case the probability of providing reasonably valid instructional prescriptions from the concept of modes of inquiry is not necessarily high, even if the possibility is an intriguing one.

The Myth of Interaction Analysis

Having revealed my thoughts about the imposed myths from behavioral scientists and other academicians, I would like to turn my attention to our own scholarly mythology. I refer to the myth of interaction analysis and, later, the myth of rational decision making. Interaction analysis has an interesting and vital history of scholarly activity centered rather directly in the field of education, with concomitant activity in the area of the group dynamics of small groups. A number of interaction frameworks have been developed. Some familiar educational examples are in the work of Flanders,[10] Mitzell and Medley,[11] Withall,[12] Perkins,[13] and others.

A confusion has arisen however in the meaning of interaction analysis. The description of what *is* going on in the classroom has become fused with the prescription of what *ought* to be going on in classrooms. Thus, if we select Flanders' direct and indirect teacher behavior categories as an example, we see a schema for looking at teacher behavior which is being misused by many people as a rationale for prescribing indirect teacher behavior. In this particular case, the Flanders' categories, the misuse is partially due to the way in which the framework has been presented by the developers. Nevertheless, a careful reading of the authors' statements underscores the concept of the analysis as being *one* source of feedback, with the judgment of performance, or "oughtness," being left up to the teacher.

The framework of categories itself is admittedly intimidating. This is primarily true because it grew out of the older authoritarian versus democratic value matrix and we still suffer from collective guilt about being authoritarian.

However, this is not the intention of the originators of these analyses, nor is it necessarily embodied in the assumptions of the methodology. Rather, these categories, which are essentially descriptive, are having, and have had, values attached to them historically and in the present by users who are prescribing instructional practices.

As long as we appreciate the fact that any system of interaction analysis is a metaphor—that it is a created reality—that the categories we use were put there and labeled by us, and not necessarily "natural" phenomena, then there is no problem. Obviously, then, there are as many possible systems of interaction analysis as we can reasonably create, and we are not in danger of prescribing from a metaphor of a low order probability that has some possibilities for explaining the instructional process.

We are motivated to accept the interaction analysis for many reasons, of which the valid portrayal of instruction is only one possible base. Interaction analysis provides conceptual tools for research, and research is the basis upon which our profession has recently chosen to play the game of progress. Thus, the aura of science and the pride of origination cling tenaciously to these systems.

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[10] Ned Flanders. "Intent, Action, and Feedback: A Preparation for Teaching." *Journal of Teacher Education* 14 (3): 251-60; September 1963.

[11] Donald M. Medley. "Experiences with the OScAR Technique." *Journal of Teacher Education* 14 (3): 267-73; September 1963.

[12] John Withall. "Mental Health-Teacher Education Research Project." *Journal of Teacher Education* 14 (3): 318-25; September 1963.

[13] Hugh Perkins. "A Procedure for Assessing the Classroom Behavior of Students and Teachers." *American Educational Research Journal* 1 (4): 249-60; November 1964.

Any given interaction system is a myth, however, if used to prescribe practice, at least in the sense that myth is being used here.

The Myth of Rational Decision Making

The interaction analysts might be called instructional empiricists. There is another school of what could be called instructional rationalists. Let us turn to this latter group for an examination of the myth of rational decision making.

One variant of this approach has been associated with persons such as Ralph Tyler [14] and Virgil Herrick.[15]

Their writings are clear and consistent in the embodiment of a rational decision-making approach to instructional problems. Faith in the rational man, the liberal man, is the cornerstone of this set of assumptions.

This rationale is an impressive one. From an aesthetic viewpoint it could be called beautiful. Further, the use of this rationale is an inherently efficient operation, providing one accepts the necessary premises. First select our objectives; then select an activity from among a number of alternatives; next fit this activity (called learning experience) into a scope and sequence pattern, then evaluate the outcome.

Although the presentation of decisions to make has been unnecessarily sequential here, the proposal that the teachers make a series of rational decisions about objectives, learning experiences, organization, and evaluation is the core of this myth.

The basis for considering this approach for an appropriate niche in the land of mythology is as follows: It is possible that teaching can be viewed as a rational decision-making process, but the action probability of validity is rather slim. The central premise of rationality cannot withstand careful scrutiny. We have learned too much about human nature in the past 100 years to reject offhand the irrational and/or unconscious aspects of human behavior.

On a practical basis alone, however, it is difficult to see how meaningful, integrated behavior could result from a formal series of sequential rational decisions. The forces of society, both within and without the person, embodied in personality and social roles, are not accounted for in any appreciable manner.

Let us look, for example, at the problem of objectives. Objectives are viewed as directives in the rational approach. They are identified prior to the instruction or action and used to provide a basis for or a screen for appropriate activities.

There is another view, however, which has both scholarly [16] and experiential referents. This view would state that our objectives are only known to us in any complete sense after the completion of our act of instruction. No matter what we thought we were attempting to do, we can only know what we wanted to accomplish after the fact. Objectives by this rationale are heuristic devices which provide initiating sequences which become altered in the flow of instruction.

In the final analysis, it could be argued, the teacher in actuality asks a fundamentally different question from "What am I trying to accomplish?" The teacher asks, "What am I going to do?" and out of the doing comes accomplishment.

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[14] Ralph Tyler. *Syllabus of Education* 364, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

[15] Virgil E. Herrick. *Toward Improved Curriculum Theory.* Chapter III. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

[16] See, for example: Florian Znaniecki. *The Cultural Sciences: Their Origin and Development.* Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1952.

The use of this rationale is technical in nature. It is a mechanical concept of human action. It assumes a means-ends relationship for behavior which points toward the most efficient way to achieve our goals. It is, of course, this mechanistic rational position which is the underlying premise of any national curriculum or national testing program. As a myth for guiding planning activities, it has power and clarity; but as a prescription for action it leaves much to be desired.

Alternatives

In summary, then, I would like to reiterate my position that the six myths I have mentioned (learning theory, developmental theory, structure, modes of inquiry, interaction analysis, and rational decision making) are metaphors created to describe the instructional process. As such they are possible ways of talking about instruction. As a basis for prescribing instructional practices they have unknown probabilities of being valid.

The identification of the mythological character of these prominent working conceptualizations in instruction has value if it simply reminds us that we are dealing with things and ideas that are not sacred. We need not accept any metaphor about instruction uncritically, and we may feel free to create other possible metaphors which may prove to have even better probabilities of being valid.

Dwayne Huebner [17] has suggested two other possibilities, which he describes as the *aesthetic* and the *moral*. It appears to me that each of these metaphors has as much reasonable possibility of providing prescriptions for instruction as any of the previous ones mentioned, and their probability of being valid might even be greater. I should like to reflect briefly upon each of these metaphors and to suggest why each is not presently elevated to the level of instructional mythology.

Aesthetic Metaphors

Huebner points out that it is possible to talk about instruction in aesthetic terms. To do this it is necessary to remove instruction, however, from the world of use. Instruction is thus not seen in terms of its usefulness, but rather is seen in terms of its wholeness, its design, its symbolic meanings. Instruction is, in other words, talked about as we might talk about a work of art.

The aesthetic activity of instruction stands apart from the world of technical means-ends relationships. Educational activities become objects in their own right—objects which may have beauty. Further, aesthetically appraised activity has a totality and unity of its own which can be talked about in terms of wholeness and design. The balance, flow, rhythm, composition, themes, major and minor keys, and other aesthetic concepts become the ways of appraising the qualities of the activity.

Suppose we talk for a moment about instruction in terms of movement. When the dancer moves we may perceive and appreciate among other things the rhythmic patterns, the beat or emphasis of the movement, the use of horizontal space and vertical levels, and tempo. The dance has a patterned wholeness. It is experience of some deeper meaning, it is symbolic of human reality.

Does it seem so unreal to think of instruction as having patterns or forms? Cannot instruction have differing tempos, differing beat or emphasis? Would it be possible to describe the use of horizontal or physical space and vertical levels—perhaps psychological space? And what of the rhythm of activity? As expressive activity, could instruction be seen as symbolic of the meanness or meaningfulness of much human activity? Or, perhaps, symbolic of the beauty and glory of highest human aspirations? I think it could—if we wished to describe it this way.

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[17] Dwayne Huebner. "Curricular Language and Classroom Meanings." In: James B. Macdonald and Robert R. Leeper, editors. *Language and Meaning*. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1966. pp. 8-26.

It is a fact that aesthetically oriented metaphors are not prevalent in our instructional talk. If we grant the possibility of using such metaphors, the question of why we have not raised them to the category of prescriptive myths becomes an interesting puzzle. One answer surely rests in the examination of their usefulness as rationalizations. I would suggest that they are not useful or at least *as* useful as ones we presently cling to.

Consider the climate of our times. Science is dominant and mathematics is its tool, with technology the logical outcome. The humanities are considered court jesters without serious purpose. They entertain and help us over the dull moments in the serious business of life. The "Two Cultures" [18] are not equal partners.

In this climate aesthetic metaphors are not respectable. They are not useful to educators simply because they are not acceptable in the broader community. Further, the artist is humble, at least in his striving for individual expression and his emphasis upon the unique in existence. He is humble because he does not propose the general or universal. The community of scholars immersed in the realm of aesthetics appears to lack the need, the desire, or the motivation to project their metaphors on the instructional setting in the same manner that the psychologists have. Thus, aesthetic metaphors about instruction have not reached the status of myths.

When I speak of aesthetic metaphors I mean the use of aesthetic metaphors to describe the actual instructional situation. This is not the same thing as talking about the "art of teaching." To say teaching is an art is (or can be) a way of removing teaching from the realm of reasoned analysis. This would be contrary to what is being proposed here.

Moral Metaphors

What of the moral realm? Are moral values relevant sources of instructional metaphors? Is it not possible to conceptualize instruction in moral terms?

When we speak of morality we are immediately confronted with a possibility of misunderstanding. Just as the word culture may mean the mores and customs of a people, or the preferred sophisticated aspect of a culture, morality may refer to a pervading condition of human relationships, or a special section of prescribed behavior, such as sexual relationships. It is, of course, the former with which we are concerned here—the basic quality of interpersonal confrontation pervading all human relations. Thus each encounter between man and man has a moral quality and potentiality.

As with aesthetic activity, a morally perceived activity is an end, not a means to an end. Yet unlike the aesthetic it does not symbolize or express deeper meanings, *it is.* The encounter is the morality. Nor is it used to produce change, or to develop skills or knowledge. It is complete in its being.

In moral encounters the person is not seen as an object, but as another person. No status or role, no purpose or category intrudes upon the person-to-person contact. Relationships are said to be more or less authentic.

In moral discourse we are concerned about the responsibility of the student—his ability to confront himself, others, and the world and to be a fully functioning person. Morally, it is recognized that instruction is a condition in which persons are influenced. The teacher accepts the responsibility of this influence and the collateral willingness to be influenced by other persons. The contrast, an attempt to change pupils' behavior, can be justified outside the limits of the act itself, but to influence others means we are fully responsible in the present for our relationships.

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[18] C. P. Snow. *Two Cultures: A Second Look*. New York: Mentor Books, 1959.

Huebner suggests that the terms promise and forgiveness are crucial and that it is through true conversation that men confront each other. A conversation means, of course, an exchange of words on a basis of mutual respect and mutual informativeness. Perhaps this is what we mean when we plead for the teacher to listen to the student.

Further, in the use of influence lies a moral promise. It is a promise of worth in the doing, of personal reward or intrinsic meaning in the contact with knowledge, materials, and other people. Yet with influence also comes the possibility of error, and it is this possibility from which only forgiveness can free one. To forgive and be forgiven are necessary in the moral realm.

Paul Goodman [19] has said that the school is a place where students waste time usefully, and perhaps this summarizes in capsule form the moral dilemma of schooling. It is wasting that is immoral—immoral because it is a refusal to face the responsibility of conversation, confrontation, and influence.

Moral metaphors also lack acceptability in our society. We have encapsulated man and surrounded him with behavioral terminology which will not allow us to speak in acceptable ways of human conditions of existence which are not caught in our behavioral nets, thus limiting our kind of discourse. We ignore what Millard Clements [20] calls the unintended consequences of the educational enterprise—the moral dilemmas.

In conclusion, in this article I have attempted to say that we may utilize many metaphors in our talk about instruction. Some of these metaphors have been raised to the level of myths. They are myths by definition *here* because they are used to prescribe patterns for instruction—when in reality they are only possible ways of viewing, with uncertain probabilities of validity.

I mentioned the myths of learning theory, developmental theory, the structure of the disciplines and modes of inquiry, interaction analysis, and rational decision making; and I suggested possible reasons for their acceptability in today's educational world of instructional mythology. In contrast, I further suggested the potential use of both aesthetic and moral discourse for instruction and also indicated why I feel they are not utilized as contemporary myths.

The myths I have talked about are in a sense descriptive theories that have been used to prescribe practice. It is not that the theory is necessarily wrong but that the use of these theories is sometimes unintelligent. What we need are more and better theories, not less theorizing. The field of medicine, for example, would still be in the stage of nostrums and incantations (would we then call it the art of doctoring?) without the theory and research which have resulted in the major steps forward. Germ theory was just that, *a theory*. It was fought vigorously by the practical man. *Immunization by vaccine* began as a theory—it was also fought vigorously by the practitioner. It would be a tragic mistake to sever the head of the educational establishment from the body under the mistaken notion that the hands and feet would be freer, or the heart would become more functional in the process.

I suppose, in the end, the message that is intended here is quite simple. It is a reminder of the tentativeness of our instructional language and the suggestion that we enrich our present conceptualizations with varieties of discourse. For example, Thomas Szasz,[21] a psychiatrist, criticizes the use of mental health metaphors in instruction. He attacks what would be called here a mental health myth of instruction. His point is an illustrative one. His concern is with the separation of psychology and state. Just as we separate one brand of religion from the public school, Szasz believes there is great danger in the establishment of one brand of psychology in education. In a broader sense this is my plea—a plea for the separation of a limited brand of thinking about instruction from the schools. It is perhaps best interpreted as a plea for conceptual pluralism and prescriptive variety in instructional programs, lest we are aroused rather startlingly in the not too distant future, tightly enmeshed in the grip of some pathological possibility which will effectively slam the door on future progress.

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[19] Paul Goodman. *Compulsory Miseducation.* New York: Horizon Press, Inc., 1964.

[20] In conversation.

[21] Thomas Szasz. "Psychiatry in Public Schools." *Teachers College Record* 66 (1): 57-63; October 1964.

For as Whitehead has remarked:

> I emphasize the point that our only exact data as to the physical world are our sensible perceptions. We must not slip into the fallacy of assuming that we are comparing a given world with given perceptions of it. The physical world is, in some general sense of the term, a deduced concept.
>
> Our problem is, in fact, to fit the world to our perceptions, and not our perceptions to the world.[22] ☐

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[22] Alfred North Whitehead. *The Aims of Education and Other Essays.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959. p. 247.

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Needed: A Theory of Instruction

JEROME S. BRUNER

OVER the past several years it has become increasingly clear to me, as to any thinking person today, that both psychology and the field of curriculum design itself suffer jointly from the lack of a theory of instruction. Such a theory of instruction would indeed be interesting just for its own sake, for purely theoretical reasons. There cannot be, for example, a theory of development which leaves somehow to chance the question of the way in which societies pace and structure the experiences with which children come in contact; and to talk about the nature of development without talking about the way in which society does and can structure the sequence is to be as intellectually foolish as it is to be morally irresponsible. So even if one were seeking only a better theory about the nature of man, one would indeed want a theory of instruction as one of the instruments by which one understood man and how he was shaped by his fellow man.

Yet we also realize that a theory of instruction is about as practical a thing as one could possibly have to guide one in the process of passing on the knowledge, the skills, the point of view, and the heart of a culture. Let us, then, see whether we can set forth some possible theorems that might go into a theory of instruction.

Elements of a Theory

What do we mean by a theory of instruction? I found myself beginning this

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exercise by putting down theorems that tried to separate what we might mean by a theory of instruction from other kinds of theories that have been current. The first thought that occurred to me is that in its very nature a theory of instruction is *prescriptive* and not *descriptive.* Such a theory has the aim of producing particular ends, and producing them in ways that we speak of as optimal. It is not a description of what has happened when learning has taken place—it is something which is normative, which gives you something to shoot at and which, in the end, must state something about what you do when you put instruction together in the form of courses. Now, this is not a very surprising thing, yet I am struck by the fact that many persons in the field of education have assumed that we could depend on other kinds of theories than the theory of instruction to guide us in this kind of enterprise. For example, I find that the dependence upon learning theory among educators is as touching as it is shocking. The fact of the matter is that the learning theory is not a theory of instruction; it is a theory that describes what takes place while learning is going on and after learning has taken place.

There is no clear-cut way in which one can derive wisdom, or indeed implication, from learning theory that will guide him in the constructing of a curriculum. When I say a theory of instruction is prescriptive, I mean it is *before the fact.* It is before learning has taken place and not while and after learning has taken place. Let me give you an example of the kind of difficulty you get into when you assume that you can use the slender reed of learning theory to lean on. Take, for example, the case of programmed instruction.

There is in the current doctrine (I will call it) of programmed instruction the idea that somehow you should take small steps, that each increment should be a small step. Now, this idea is derived willy-nilly from a theory of learning which states that learning is incremental and goes in small steps. Nowhere in the evidence upon which such a theory is based—and it is only partial evidence—nowhere is there anything that says that simply because learning takes place in small steps the *environment* should be arranged in small steps. And so we set up a curriculum that also has small steps. In doing so we fail to take sight of the fact that, indeed, organisms from vertebrate on up through the highest primate, man, operate by taking large packets of information and breaking these down into their own bite size and that unless they have the opportunity to do that, learning may become stereotyped. At least it is a worthy hypothesis about instruction.

A theory of instruction must concern itself with the relationship between how things are presented and how they are learned. Though I myself have worked hard and long in the vineyard of learning theory, I can do no better than to start by warning the reader away from it. Learning theory is not a theory of instruction. It describes what happened. A theory of instruction is a guide to what to do in order to achieve certain objectives. Unfortunately, we shall have to start pretty nearly at the beginning, for there is very little literature to guide us in this subtle enterprise.

What shall a theory of instruction be about? I would propose that there are four aspects of such a theory. First, a theory of instruction should concern itself with the factors that predispose a child to learn effectively; and there are many such factors that predispose. These are factors which, on the whole, precede the child's entry into our scholastic care. These factors relate to his earliest childhood; and indeed one might say that we should provide some theorems for a theory of toys, and for a theory of family, and for a theory of stimulation, because the thing that comes to mind here is the question of what kind of stimulation ought a child to have before he is faced with this formidable thing we call a schoolroom and a teacher. What sorts of identification might he best form? How shall we bring his linguistic level up to a point where he is able to handle things symbolically? I shall not treat further these predispositions because what I want to do after this introduction of the different aspects of the theory is to go back and have a look at each one of these in detail, so let me pass on now to a second aspect of a theory of instruction.

It should concern itself with the optimal structuring of knowledge. By this, I mean that for any body of knowledge there is a minimal set of propositions, or statements, or images from which one can best generate the rest of what exists within that field. For example, from the conservation theorems plus a little more, a great deal of physics can be reconstructed. This is the "guts" of physics.

Now, I think when we speak of the optimal structuring of knowledge, we probably have three things in mind about this set of underlying propositions. They should have the power of simplifying the diversity of information within the field, somehow rendering the particular redundant, making it clear that this case is just a sub-case of something else, that one fact is not the same as every other fact. I speak of this power of simplification as the economy of a structure. Second, such a structure would enable you to generate new propositions, to go beyond the information given. This I would speak of as the productiveness of a structure. And finally, there is another aspect to the structure of knowledge which has to do with the extent to which it increases the manipulability of knowledge. It is classically the case, for example, that when you put something into words, it now becomes possible for you to take that thing which before you only intuited in some rough way and to subject it to the combinings and recombinings that are made possible by the transformative powers of language. And this I want to speak of as the power of a structure. In thinking of structure, then, we shall want to consider economy, productiveness, and power. All of these things are relative to a learner. It does not do to say simply that, because physics has great economy, great productiveness, and great power as practiced by a Feinman or a Purcell, therefore you have children ape those distinguished scientists. You take the child where you find him and give him the structure that is economical, productive, and powerful for him and that allows him to grow.

A third aspect of a theory of instruction deals with the optimal sequence that is required for learning. In what order do we present things? If you are presenting the Napoleonic Period, where do you start? If you would give a sense of the 16th century, do you begin with the fact that mercantile prices and prosperity were going up at a booming rate, whereas the rents that were got by the landlords were not going up because there were long-term leases? You might. If you want to produce drama, you would. But we will return to that because there is a question of how to give the learner a place from which to take off, something upon which to build. In what order do you do it? What exercises do you give him to strengthen the sinews of his own thinking? What type of representation do you use? How much particular? How much generality?

Finally, a fourth aspect of a theory of instruction should concern itself with the nature and pacing of rewards and punishments and successes and failures.

To sum up then, a theory of instruction should be constructed around four problems: predispositions, structures, sequences, and consequences.

Predisposition

What can we say about the factors that predispose a student to be a learner? Let us begin with the following simple proposition: that in order to learn or to solve problems, it is necessary that alternatives be explored, and that you cannot have effective learning or problem solving without the learner's having the courage and the skill to explore alternative ways of dealing with a problem.

It seems that if you take this as the first proposition concerning predisposition, there are three things that immediately can be said. First, if this is the case, learning in the presence of a teacher, or a tutor, or an instructor should somehow minimize the risks and the severity of the consequence that follow upon exploration of alternatives. It should be less risky for a child to explore alternatives in the presence of a teacher than without one present. It is obvious that, at the level of coping with nature in the raw, the child searching for food on his own would stand more risk of eating toadstools and poisoning himself, and thereby bringing exploration to a close.

Yet there are other less obvious things that have to do with the closing down of the exploration of alternatives. A teacher or parent can instill the fear of being a fool. That can surely paralyze the will to explore alternatives, for the moment an unreasonable alternative is made to seem like a foolish one, the inner freedom to explore is limited by the requirements of face saving. The encouragement of exploration of alternatives requires some practical minimization of the severity of consequences following exploration.

It seems to me, further, that one of the ways in which a sense of alternatives to be explored can be opened is to increase the informativeness of error. To increase the informativeness of error essentially involves making clear to the child what produced a failure. One of the major functions of a teacher is to lead the child to a sense of why he failed. I do not mean why he failed in terms of a characterological analysis; I mean in terms of the nature of what it is that he is doing. If you can somehow make the child aware that his attempted answer is not so much a wrong answer as an answer to another problem, and then get him back on the track, it becomes possible for the child to reduce the confusion that is produced by picking a wrong alternative. One of the things that, I believe, keep us from exploring alternatives is precisely the confusion of making the wrong choice.

Still another goad to the exploration of alternatives is through the encouragement of "subversiveness." I mean that you must subvert all of the earlier established constraints against the exploration of alternatives. This kind of subversiveness has to do with a healthy skepticism toward holy cows, prefabricated doctrines, and stuffed shirtliness. Let there be no question or doubt that is "not nice to express." The moment you as teachers lose your role of subversives in this respect, you are doing the child an injustice and yourself an injustice as a teacher. I want to rescue the word "subversion" from the wrong senses to which it has been put in recent years.

When we think about predispositions to learn, we have to bear in mind that the very relationship that we have with our pupils is a privileged relationship involving authority and direction; that is to say, the exchange is uneven. We know; they do not. Since that is the case, it becomes very necessary for us not to use this implicit authoritative relationship as a means of establishing truth and falsity. It is so easy in the mind of the impressionable child to equate truth with Miss Smith!

The nature of learning in a school situation requires at least a dyadic relation; at least two people are involved, and usually many more than two. This obvious point requires that there be some set of minimal social skills that a child brings with him to a learning situation. We do not know much about the nature of these social skills that are required for an exchange of information. The act of exchanging information mutually, or even of accepting information and working on it until you make it your own, is not well understood. In addition to minimum social skills, there are elementary intellectual skills that are necessary for a first encounter with school learning. We "know" this, but we do little either to investigate these elementary skills or to devise ways of strengthening them. I am thinking principally of linguistic skills. Where a child has been socially underprivileged in his early years, it may be necessary for example to look squarely at the situation and say: This child, before he can go on in these subjects, simply needs more linguistic training or all of our words will be just mere wind going by his ears. I do not mean vocabulary but, rather, the development of the full transformative power of language which our linguists are only now beginning to understand.

It is necessary for the beginning child to have certain kinds of manipulative and almost intuitive geometric skills. We have started studies of children on the borders of the Sahara in the interior of Senegal. We are struck at the difference in the behavior of American children and children in the African bush who do not have toys with mechanical or geometrical constraint to play with. We take it for granted that our children can deal with geometrical forms, put them together and take them apart, yet the fact of the matter is that it should not be taken for granted. The experience of manipulating materials gives our children a stock of images and geometric transformations that permit them to work geometrically and mechanically in a way that our African subjects cannot. These elementary forms of intellectual skills are essential. Is there more that we can do that we are not doing?

My last point before passing on to the topic of structure in learning has to do with attitudes toward the use of mind. These are predisposing factors of an enormously important kind. For example, we know that these vary to some extent, speaking sociologically, by class, by ethnic group, by culture. There is no question, for example, that in terms of social class, very frequently you will find in the lowest social class an attitude toward life that is governed by the concept of luck. This means that there is really nothing you can do by your own efforts, that things happen to a considerable extent by luck. The business of applying the mind, the idea that man has a chance if he will use his mind, is an attitude which is not frequently present and which has to be created. This is an extremely difficult thing to do and I hope no one asks me how do you do it, because I do not know. Yet it is quite clear that we must use the most intelligent opportunism we can muster, to do anything we can to get the idea started that by the use of mind one can increase effectiveness or any other desired state. We also know that different ethnic groups have different attitudes toward the use of mind, and again, I do not think we take full advantage of this. The Muslim-African culture, for example, has an attitude toward the use of mind that it should be used principally for grasping the word that has been passed on. This is not the kind of use of mind that makes for what might be called a very active, vigorous mind.

Structure of Knowledge

Now let us turn to the question of the structure of knowledge, its economy, productiveness, and power as related to the capacities of a learner. The first point relates to theorem in the theory of computation proposed by Turing. Turing proposed that any problem that can be solved can be solved by simpler means. That is the theorem. Out of this theorem has come the technology of computing machines. What it says—and it says this only for so-called well-defined problems with unique solutions—is that however complicated the problem, we can break it down into a set of simpler elementary operations and finally end up with operations as simple as: make a mark, move a mark, take the mark out, put the mark back, etc. These elementary operations are then combined into subroutines that are more complex and then these are combined, etc. The machine succeeds in being practically interesting because it can run off so many of these operations in so short a time. Turing's theorem has a certain relevance to the structure of knowledge; it, in a sense, is another way of stating what by now I am afraid has become an old saw: that any subject can be taught to anybody at any age in some form that is honest. There is always some way in which complicated problems can be reduced to simpler form, simple and step-by-step enough for a child to grasp.

Now, to move ahead one step, I believe it can be said that knowledge about anything can, generally speaking, be represented in three ways, three parallel systems of processing information. One of these is what I call the enactive representation of knowledge. How do you tie a running bowline? You will reply that you can't quite say it or draw it, but that you will show me by tieing one. Try to tell somebody how to ride a bicycle, or ski. It is knowing by doing. It is the way in which the young child on a seesaw "knows" Newton's Law of Moments. He knows that in order to balance two children on the other side he has to get farther out on his side, and this is the Law of Moments, but known enactively. Only with time do children free themselves from this tendency to equate things with the actions directed toward them. We never free ourselves from it completely. Let me now speak of ikonic representation. If somebody says to me, for example, "What's a square?" I might say, "Well, a square is a set of sets such that the number of elements in each set is equal to the number of sets." This is a good definition of a square, formalistically. Yet the fact of the matter is that there is another way of representing a square, by an image. It isn't a square, it's an image of a square, and it's a useful image—we can start with it. Many of the things we use in representing knowledge have this ikonic property. I use the word "ikonic" because I do not really mean a kind of imitation of nature. Let us not run down the importance of these useful images. They have limits, these representing pictures.

Finally, a third way in which knowledge can get represented is symbolically. By this I mean in words or in those more powerful versions of words, powerful in one way in any case, mathematical symbols. I think you can turn around the Chinese proverb to the effect that one picture is worth a thousand words. For certain purposes one word is worth a thousand pictures. For example, draw a picture of "implosion"; and yet the idea of implosion as such was one of the basic notions that led to the idea of thermonuclear fusion. Implosion is the concept that results from the application of a contrast transformation on the more familiar concept of explosion. The word was so important that it was classified as top secret during the war. It is this capacity to put things into a symbol system with rules for manipulating, for decomposing and recomposing and transforming and turning symbols on their heads, that makes it possible to explore things not present, not picturable, and indeed not in existence.

Now the three modes of representation do not disappear as we grow older; quite to the contrary, they remain with us forever. When we speak of the application of Turing's theorem to the question of structuring of knowledge, it is in reference to the representation forms we have been discussing. Early in life and also early in our mastery of a subject we have to represent things in terms of what we do with them—in much the same way as a child "knows about" balance beams by knowing what to do on a seesaw. We may then emerge with an image of it, however nonrigorous the image may be. Then and only then can language and symbol systems be applied with some degree of likelihood that their reference will be understood. I do not think I can say anything more important than that. You create a structure, not by starting off with the highest brow symbolic version, but by giving it in the muscles, then in imagery, and then giving it in language, with its tools for manipulation. The basic task is to orchestrate the three kinds of representations so that we can lead the child from doing, to imaging what he has done, and finally to symbolization.

Usually in a college catalog when a course is listed it will say something about a "prerequisite." Let me urge that any topic also has internal prerequisites in addition to the things that you are supposed to have mastered beforehand. The internal prerequisites may indeed be just precisely the easier modes of representation that get one to a less rigorous, more imageful or enactive grasp of a subject before it gets converted into either ordinary or mathematical language. The way you get ahead with learning is to translate an idea into those non-rigorous forms that can be understood. Then one can, with their aid, become more precise and powerful. In mathematics such techniques are called "heuristics." Their use often constitutes a prerequisite to grasping a subject in its full depth. This is most of what is meant when we speak of "spiral curriculum."

Optimal Sequence

With respect to the sequence in which material is presented, different sequences are obviously needed to achieve different objectives. The idea of one right sequence is a myth. You have to be quite clear about what kind of learning you are trying to produce before you can specify what is a good sequence for presenting it. There are sequences that can be described for the production of parrots. We use them all the time. But there is also a sequence that is particularly interesting in that it seems to increase the likelihood that knowledge will be converted into a structure that is economical, productive, and powerful—and therefore transferable. It is worth pausing over.

I would like to suggest that if you wanted to do this, the first thing that you might do is to try leading the child to grasp a structure by induction from particular instances. You would give him lots of particular instances and let him recognize their underlying regularity. If you want the child to transfer his learning to new situations you had better give him some practice in transfer while he is learning.

The second thing you might try is the use of contrast in your sequence. The fish will be the last to discover water. Economy of representation often makes it necessary for the child to see the contrasting case. Often concepts are structured in terms of contrast and can only be fully understood in terms of them. To grasp the meaning of commutativity in arithmetic—that $3 \cdot 4 = 4 \cdot 3$—often may require that we recognize the non-commutative case of ordinary language—that for quantifiers, for example, "very much" is not equal to "much very" or, as a little girl once put it, "black shoe" isn't "shoe black."

Third, if one wants a sequence that is going to produce powerful learning, avoid premature symbolization. Do not give them that word to parrot before they know what it is about either by manipulation or in images. Ask yourselves how much you understand about simultaneous equations.

Fourth, you might try to give the child practice at both leaping and plodding. Let him go by small steps. Then let him take great leaps, huge guesses. Without guessing he is deprived of his rights as a mind. We cannot get all of the evidence. It is often by guessing that we become aware of what we know.

Another question related to sequence has to do with what I would call "revisiting." Rarely is everything learned about anything in one encounter. Yet we seem to be so impelled to cover, to get through the Elizabethan Period, and on through such-and-such period that we forget the obvious point—that the pot is rarely licked clean at one swipe. Perhaps we would do well to take music listening as a model. It is not simply a matter of mastering this subject, or even of converting it into more powerful form. Rather, revisit means an opportunity of connecting what we have learned now with what else we know. Why is such an obvious point so often ignored?

Reward and Punishment

Now the question of pacing reward and punishment for success and failure. First distinguish two states. One is success and failure; the other one is reward and punishment. By success and failure, I mean the end state that is inherent in a task. The problem is solved or not solved or close to solved. By reward and punishment, I mean something quite different. It relates to the consequences that follow upon success and failure—prizes, scoldings, gold stars, etc.

It is often the case that emphasis upon reward and punishment, under the control of an outside agent such as a teacher or parent, diverts attention away from success and failure. In effect, this may take the learning initiative away from the child and give it to the person dispensing the rewards and punishments. This will be the more likely if the learner is not able to determine the basis of success and failure. One of the great problems in teaching, which usually starts with the teacher being very supportive, is to give the rewarding function back to the learner and the task. Perhaps we can do this by rewarding good errors so that the child becomes aware of the process of problem solving as worthy as well as the fruits of successful outcome. In any case, I wish to mention these matters to suggest that old dogmas about the role of "reinforcement" can be looked at afresh. The independent problem solver is one who rewards and punishes himself by judging the adequacy of his efforts. Equip him with the tools for thinking and let him be his own man.

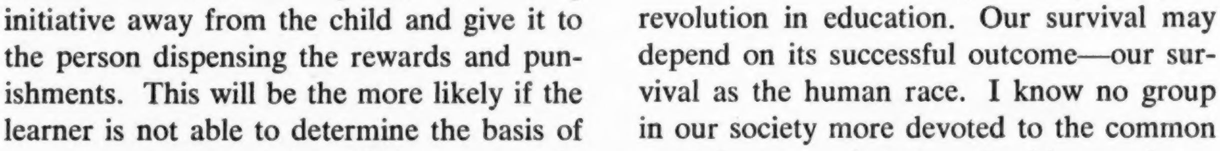
Some Conclusions

I should warn you, in conclusion, to beware of the likes of us. We do not have a tested theory of instruction to offer you. What is quite plain is that one is needed and I would propose that we work together in its forging.

I warn you for a good reason. Educators are a curiously doctrinal or ideological kind of people. You are given to slogans and fight and bleed in their behalf. You have looked to psychology for help and have often been misled into accepting mere hypotheses as the proven word. It is partly because it is so hard to test the adequacy of ideas in an educational setting.

Now we are living through a great revolution in education. Our survival may depend on its successful outcome—our survival as the human race. I know no group in our society more devoted to the common weal than our educators. In this era of new curricula, new teaching arrangements, new automated devices, your best rudder is a healthy sense of experimentation backed by a skepticism toward educational slogans.

If we are to move toward a serviceable and sturdy theory of instruction—and I think we are—then your greatest contribution will be a willingness to give new ideas a try and full candor in expressing your reactions to how things worked. The prospect is strenuous, but gains to be won are enormous. I wish you well. □



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The Nature of Instruction: Needed Theory and Research

(An Editorial)

JAMES B. MACDONALD

FOR well over a decade there has been a renewed effort to understand the nature of instruction. Sparked by intellectual curiosity and practical needs, and fanned by the winds of recent pressures, the scientific study of instruction has grown proportionately larger than most other research concerns in education during this period.

Supervision, teacher pre- and in-service programs, and administrator judgments about teachers are examples of educational concerns that are especially dependent upon our knowledge of instruction. The knowledge about instruction that we possess will be closely related to the adequacy with which we engage in these tasks; and there is considerable evidence and agreement that we do not yet have a great deal of common knowledge about instruction. Knowledge, in this context, refers to the information obtained by empirical or scientific methods which provide valid and reliable explanation, prediction, and control of the process of instruction.

In order to clarify terms, a useful distinction can be made between curriculum, instruction, and teaching. Whether it is possible to hold these boundaries in actuality is another problem, but for the sake of sharpening our focus here a distinction will be made.

Of the three, curriculum has the greatest scope. Our understanding of curriculum extends from the politics of legislative bodies through the curriculum setting and developing activities in the school year itself. Ideally, curriculum finds its fruition in student learning, but in actuality there is a considerable segment of what we talk about in curriculum that is prior to and/or removed from classrooms.

The concept of teaching is the most restricted of the three terms. Teaching may take place without related learning; that is, a person may be said to be performing the act of teaching whether or not there is resultant student learning. The teacher behavior in the classroom has been, can be, and is being studied as a separate function.

Instruction, then, would be the active process of goal-oriented interaction between pupils, teachers, materials, and facilities. This is meant to describe the ongoing classroom situation in its entirety, which includes teacher behavior and reflects curriculum decisions and activities.

Needed: Adequate Models of Instruction

Instruction, like any human activity, is a complex phenomenon. In order to understand this activity it is necessary to conceptualize its boundaries and describe the relationships of the variables that have been identified. Some model of instruction needs to be used to locate behaviors and relationships that can be described.

James B. Macdonald, Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. In 1963, at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

At present there are no generally accepted research models for the analysis of instruction. Each researcher appears to have an implicit or explicit model which he uses to collect descriptions of the process of instruction.

One of the earliest of our more recent models conceptualized instruction in terms of authoritarian versus democratic behavior and its resultant effect on pupil behavior. This trend has moved to more neutral terminology such as direct and indirect, structured or flexible, etc., teacher behavior in the past few years.

Some models deal with verbal behavior only; others attempt to include gestures, voice tones, and other nonverbal behavior. Models often seem to be centered upon teacher behavior with less emphasis upon pupil initiated situations, peer group interaction, curriculum, or the tasks involved.

Certainly one pressing need for furthering our understanding of instruction is the task of developing theories, paradigms, or models for conceptualizing instruction. These models, to be adequate, ought to provide for the description of the crucial elements and their relationships in the instructional process. It is difficult to conceive how adequate models can be proposed without accounting for purpose, media and materials, teacher and pupil behavior.

Needed: Empirical Analysis and Theory Sifting from Other Areas

Models usually do not spring solely from spontaneous intuition. More than likely a usable model will suggest itself from models used in the behavioral, biological, or physical sciences; and/or a model may appear out of the empirical analysis of the instructional activity itself. The instructional process is being examined from both orientations at the present time.

Models have appeared during the past few years utilizing the basic biological science concept of homeostasis; from primarily physical science concepts of objects, systems, and interactions; from primarily behavioral science concepts of human development, learning, perception, group dynamics, etc.; and from philosophical sources carrying heavy psychological overtones. At the present time there is a confusing mixture of overlapping and/or unrelatable terms and concepts from these sources. One greatly needed task in the near future most certainly is the systematic application of these conflicting models and the resultant sifting out of overlapping concepts and the clarification of common units or referents for model construction.

More than a few researchers seem to have thrown in the towel on this task and returned to the raw data of experience. Using a minimal group of concepts, they have begun cataloging the nature of instruction as they find it. Although it is difficult to see how this activity will be profitable in the long run without the concomitant activity of model building as they go along, it does have a valuable place at the present time. The attempt to systematize our way of thinking about instruction in an objective manner is in itself a major step forward.

Needed: The Identification and Description of Criterion Variables

Sooner or later the modern resurgence in research will need to concern itself with evaluation of instruction. From the practitioner's standpoint the valuing of behaviors and practices is of central importance. As crucial as this may be, there appears to be a task of clarification needed before this step can proceed with any certainty.

It has always been assumed that the basic criterion of instruction is the learning which takes place in the classroom. As difficult as it is to move away from this conviction, there may be sound reasons for calling it to question. This conviction may in fact be the major reason why we have gained so little usable knowledge about instruction over the years. In our hurry to evaluate instruction in terms of student learning, we have overlooked some basic possibilities concerning the reasonable relationships among instructional elements, and in the process have discarded fruitful ideas in a penny-wise, pound-foolish manner.

An illustration of this might be the study of teacher behavior. Why, for example, do we expect teacher behavior to be directly connected with student learning? With so many other relevant factors intervening between the teacher and student, it does not seem reasonable to expect learning to be directly affected by teacher behavior to any considerable extent.

What we need to find out is what we can expect to be directly affected by teacher behavior. We need, in other words, a whole set of criterion variables (perhaps intermediary variables in the long run) that can be looked at directly. From the practitioner's viewpoint, rather than slip into a "my opinion about teacher behavior is as good as yours" situation, we need to identify and look for those things which are directly affected by teacher behavior. There *is* "gold in them-thar hills"; but we will never find it unless we know where to look. As abhorrent as it may be to evaluate teaching in terms of the "discipline" (quiet, order, etc.) in a classroom, this practice does illustrate the recognition of the possibility that some criterion other than student learning may be a more reasonable expectation. What is needed now are the identification and description of a variety of usable criterion variables.

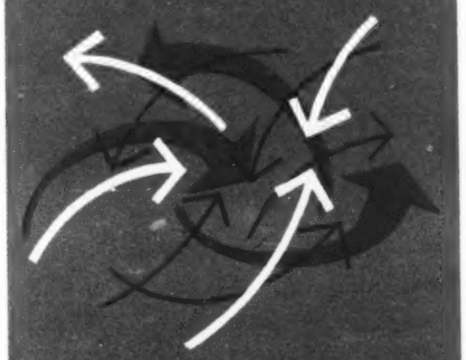
These criterion variables will have to emerge from the development and testing of theories through researchable hypotheses. Meanwhile the practitioner needs to be honestly willing to face the uncertainty of not knowing and to participate actively in the development of theory and research in the field of instruction.

Needed: Answers to Questions

Needed theory and research in the field of instruction should eventually provide answers to some of the following questions as well as many others not mentioned here. As a summary, these questions may help to focus our thinking upon the task ahead.

> How can we conceptualize the process of instruction? What are productive sources of concepts for use in our analyses?
>
> What actually goes on during an instructional sequence? What are the important elements or variables and how are they related? What are the criterion variables in instruction?

Until we have discovered commonly accepted answers to these and other questions, we must recognize our limitations and do everything within our power to facilitate the search for knowledge. ☐



5

INTEGRATION: THE UPREACH, THE OUTREACH

If the little man of our day ever makes his full upreach and outreach to selfhood, his first job will be to beat down the mythologies the scholars have created about him. In the name of scholarship they would hang him on a cross of validated hypotheses. Dodson, p. 111.

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From Debate to Action

(An Editorial)

DAN W. DODSON

NOTHING has so challenged the educational establishment of America as the civil rights revolution. When the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the Plessy *v.* Ferguson doctrine of "separate but equal" in 1954, the focal point in race relations became the schools. The first big challenge was desegregation. The second was to compensate those who bore the scars and trauma of discrimination.

The past 14 years have been characterized by debate, dialogue, and sometimes open hostility. Few educational leaders supported the courts in their rulings against apartheid education. Most argued that schools were not instruments of reform. If housing were segregated, they saw no responsibility to desegregate schools. The neighborhood school became sacred. The social class limitations upon ability to learn were used to excuse educators from teaching slum children. Although almost half of America's children ride buses to school for other reasons, bussing for desegregation became an anathema.

We must now move from debate to action. The future of public education is at stake in the inner cities of this great country. Education must become dynamic, an instrumentality of change, and must bring the minority groups of the country into full-scale participation, or else the common school is doomed.

The Interracial Encounter

The following positions are stated as conclusions reached from the experience of the interracial encounter:

1. *There is no substitute for desegregation.*

The genius of American public education is the "common school." When local schools have an untoward concentration of one group, so that one becomes "ours" and another "theirs," they cease to be common schools and become schools of special interests.

Equality of educational opportunity cannot be provided in such a situation. Two schools cannot be exactly equal, hence to be assigned to one as against the other determines what is expected of both the teacher and the pupil. One may as well ask a layman on the street to rate a community's schools in status as to ask the achievement scores of the pupils, so nearly do teachers' and pupils' performances conform to the community's expectations of them. Hence, the only way to make schools equal is to make all schools equally accessible to all.

The dominant power group in a community will not provide equal opportunity so long as its children live with privilege they do not have to share. The Hobson *v.* Hanson testimony in Washington, D.C., indicated that some status white schools received almost twice as much support per child as did

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some inner city all black schools. In these situations it is impossible to teach community, for the living arrangement out-educates the educators.

If Black Separatists do not have power enough to command resources to serve "theirs" in situations where there is some leverage to require sharing, it is a foregone conclusion they will not have power enough to require resources if they are forced to fend for themselves in apartheid education. The hope resides in our staying engaged in the encounter until we have forged the new designs of a viable society, rather than in pulling apart in resegregated education. This latter road will prove nothing. It is where Booker T. Washington and "separate but equal" started almost 100 years ago. We know where that road leads.

2. *There must be more accountability.*

Educators have contended that what they do is so special that it cannot be evaluated. Hence, neither teachers nor their leaders are accountable if children do not learn. In the ghetto communities, children often make no measurable progress from the beginning of a term until it ends. Negro leaders often refer to this as "educational genocide." Teachers cannot claim tenure, and all the privileges they enjoy in large city systems, and be no more accountable for their performance than they are now.

3. *Educators should concentrate less on the limitations of the human potential, and more on the limitations of the establishments through which they operate.*

The excuse to the present has been that the limitations were in the human potential. This was scapegoating. It took many forms. At first it was claimed the limitations were biological. Some still make such dastardly claims. Others contend the limitation is not innate, but the slum milieu permanently (or almost so) impairs their sensory mechanisms, so they are unable to learn.

The literature is filled with clichés of the researchers and the apologists for the non-performance of such children. "Low IQ," "low social class," "weak ego strength," "lack of father image with which to relate," "inability to forego immediate pleasures for long-range goals," "matriarchal domination," "cultural deprivation," and now, "lack of preschool stimulation," all suggest the extent to which we have made the human potential the scapegoat for our failures. If the little man of our day ever makes his full upreach and outreach to selfhood, his first job will be to beat down the mythologies the scholars have created about him. In the name of scholarship they would hang him on a cross of validated hypotheses.

The blatant truth is that the teachers and the researchers found what they started out to look for, that is, what was wrong with the human potential—not what was wrong with the institution. Occasionally some local school achieves performances which indicate that these children are educable, and that they can be taught. They also demonstrate that no magic gimmick is needed to turn this trick. It only requires teachers who believe these children can learn, principals who help create learning situations by good supervision, and a leadership within the community to support the endeavor. These are the major ingredients.

4. *Better school-community relations.*

The Ford Foundation leadership believes the removal of schools from responsible parental and community participation is the real malaise besetting the inner city schools. They have recommended that New York City's system be broken up into 60 autonomous districts, and control turned over to the local community and the parents. While this is perhaps a simplistic solution, it does indicate the need for a real partnership between the school and its community. Despite all the literature on school-community relations, a demonstration of a viable relationship between the school and the community in low-income neighborhoods is a rarity. This is an urgent matter today, if the schools are to regain relevance in the ghettos.

The Real Confrontation

Unless school systems can move on these issues posthaste, the Separatist segment of the Negro community will persuade parents to accept apartheid, and return to the ancient doctrine of "separate but equal." In this move, the Separatists and the backlashers will have won, and the structure will be set for a new era of tribalism in education.

The time for debate is past. We are engaged in the real confrontation to test whether education can serve equally *all* the children of the community, or whether it is an inert institutional arrangement designed to serve the power interests of the dominant society. It is easy to become weary with the encounter and wish to disengage from it. Such retreat at this late hour in history would be a travesty on our heritage. Let us join the encounter and forge the new designs of a program commensurate with the challenges of our era. Anything less is unworthy of American professional educational leadership. □

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Integration . . . A Curricular Concern

CONRAD F. TOEPFER, JR.

PROBLEMS of racial integration in public schools continue to command increasing attention in professional education writings. Attempts to ameliorate and eliminate racial imbalance in the schools are literally legion.

Unfortunately, the majority of these plans provide only for desegregation of racially imbalanced schools and, in themselves, cause no effective integration of educational experience for students in newly desegregated schools. In many instances, however, it has been erroneously assumed that desegregation efforts automatically provide an integrated educative experience for the students involved.

The main points to be considered here are:

1. Integration of information and learners is invariably a curriculum planning process.
2. Desegregation of racially imbalanced schools cannot be considered in itself as causing racial integration in schools.
3. Integration of learning for black students in racially balanced schools must be achieved through curriculum planning to communicate their experiential background with that of the white, middle class orientation.
4. Failure to follow up desegregation with curricular integration will present a critical problem.
5. Resources and means are available to begin organizing integration programs.

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Curriculum Planning for Integration

Prior to the problem of racial balance, integration had important meaning for curriculum planning. Krug has stated the following:

> Although the subject organization is the usual and to some people the inevitable pattern for classroom studies, it has been criticized. Those who do so contend that it results in the splitting up of human knowledge and skill into arbitrary segments and that the student who pursues it comes out with piecemeal education. Such criticisms have led to efforts to modify subject organization along the lines of "broad fields." The term "integration" is somewhat used to describe these efforts, although there are those who contend that true integration takes place in the learner rather than in the reorganization of content.[1]

The concept of subject matter correlation [2,3] suggests that integration of learning within learners best evolves when the organization of subject matter helps learners see the relevance of subject materials to each other and in relationship to their own environment. The development of homogeneous grouping and "track" programs for specific ability levels has required, on paper at least, the planning of special curricula for these diverse groups, including organization of subject matter, graded instructional materials, and differentiated instructional techniques. Wide gaps among groups of intellectually superior children, slow learners, and special class groups have long posed problems to curricular integration in the instructional program. Where efforts have succeeded, teachers have invariably organized programs to provide students from wide ability ranges the opportunity to compete and achieve individually. Thus an integration of learning has been achieved and for a range of students with widely varying backgrounds and capabilities.[4]

Desegregation and Integration

It is suggested here that integration as a curriculum planning procedure can likewise meet the needs of racial and social class integration in public schools today. There are differences between the situations described in the foregoing section and needs for racial integration in schools, but these should properly be recognized as differences of degree and not of kind. Some planned improved educational experience must be developed as a second step after desegregation. This integration process must design curricular programs and opportunities for experiences which communicate to the cultural and experiential backgrounds of all students in that school. Failure to achieve this second step will cause impoverished students to be exposed once more to instructional programs as meaningless as those formerly experienced in segregated schools.

My own son attended an elementary school into which black children were bussed to combat *de facto* racial segregation. When the program began in September 1965, the black children would gather as a separate group in the school playground despite their age range from kindergarten through eighth grade. Through the autumn this condition changed, with increasing evidences of white and black children playing together. By the end of the school year there was almost complete *social integration* through personal friendships. It has become common to see black and white children in "arm-around-each-other" buddy friendships. However, there has been no attempt to develop integrating curricular programs upon this base of social integration. Yet many educators felt that total integration had thus been achieved. They failed to see that development of new curricular programs in this encouraging social climate could build *educational integration* upon the foundation of desegregation and correction of racial imbalance.

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[1] Edward Krug. *Curriculum Planning.* Revised edition. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. p. 103.

[2] Harold Alberty. *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum.* Third edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962. pp. 204-30.

[3] Roland Faunce and Nelson Bossing. *Developing the Core Curriculum.* Second edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958.

[4] Nelson Henry, editor. *The Integration of Educational Experiences.* Part III. The 57th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Curriculum Planning for Racial Integration

If curriculum planning is to be successful in effecting educational integration, it must identify the basic problem which plagued education in segregated schools. The learner in that setting was isolated from the white, middle class values and background upon which the curriculum was built. Because this isolation made the curriculum remote and meaningless, impoverished children, both black and white, had extreme difficulty in achieving the desired ends of learning in the curriculum. Research has revealed that compensatory education designed to help students in segregated schools with heavy racial and social class imbalance is largely ineffective.[5,6]

Planning integrating curricular programs requires a philosophical commitment. Such efforts must eventually develop teacher skills and perceptions through in-service education programs and must create instructional materials which will teach skills in terms of the environmental experiences of black and other impoverished children.

The end goals of educational programs for the impoverished will be much the same as programs in middle class environments. However, the jump from beginning to end in the environment of poverty is far too broad for the majority of learners to comprehend and accept. The end objectives are so far removed from the learner's experience and so abstract from his own environment that he rejects them because of their remoteness and because he cannot see how he can ever achieve them. To counteract this, new sets of vital and immediate objectives, objectives which are so concrete that you "can taste them," must be developed to provide a continuum for the learner to reach toward the end objectives of a better life for himself.[7]

Failure to work at this problem has resulted in curriculum voids such as the following:

> The poverty-stricken child needs to learn to read but not initially to read about a middle-class world in which he cannot even fantasy himself. His own environmental needs to read are critically important to the point of life and death but are typically not noticed by the school. This child needs to learn to read and understand the meaning of "danger" and "poison" on cans of rat poison, "pure" and "safe" on other containers. Other things to be read and understood include signs on condemned buildings with words and expressions like "condemned," "under razing," "structure not safe," "symptoms of rabies are"; but the reading materials used in class talk about a boy, a girl, and their dog and their environment in all-Caucasian suburbia.[8]

Unless such approaches develop, the gains in learning for former ghetto school children will be limited to mere social acculturation through their associations with a predominance of white, middle class classmates.

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[5] Kenneth B. Clark. *Dark Ghetto.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965.

[6] A. Harry Passow. *Education in Depressed Areas.* New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1965.

[7] Dorothy Rosenbaum and Conrad Toepfer, Jr. *Curriculum Planning and School Psychology: The Coordinated Approach.* Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania: Hertillon Press, 1966. p. 136.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Dilemma of Desegregation Without Curricular Integration

In racially imbalanced schools, the black student was exposed to a curriculum with learning situations geared to white, middle class race experience. While such experiences were often nonintelligible and rejected, the black student still had the security of his own culture. In schools where integrating curricular programs do not develop upon the correction of racial imbalance, he will still be as isolated from the curriculum as he was in ghetto schools. In the desegregated setting, however, the majority of his classmates will understand the white, middle class orientation of the curriculum because *they* are white. This may well provide the black student with increased cultural insecurity.

Thus, curricular isolation of students will continue in racially desegregated schools, but now with the pernicious danger of mistaking racial desegregation for racial integration. If the curriculum in desegregated schools is not planned to integrate the life experience of both black and white students, supporters of racial segregation who preach black inferiority may falsely seem correct. Continuation of desegregation-only programs could facilitate such a catastrophic misconclusion.

Resources and Means To Solve the Problem

Organization of both preservice and graduate teacher education sequences to develop teacher awareness as well as planning and teaching skills must be a primary step. Likewise, needs for in-service programs which focus on similar teacher skills in actual school settings rate high priority. Despite cuts in federal government support, federal monies still offer promising resources to underwrite such beginning efforts.

In theory and practice, curriculum planning offers succinct means for actualizing effective integration programs in schools. Such efforts must identify and organize appropriate instructional objectives, content, materials, methods, and evaluating devices for improved learning experiences to follow the correction of racial imbalance. Two recent innovations seem to hold broad promise for integrating curricular patterns. The nongraded school offers a flexibility which could well accommodate the wide ranges of student background and ability in desegregated schools in designing improved learning experiences. The importance of individualizing instruction for all students recommends the computer-based resource unit concept[9] as a succinct means to integrate educational experiences in desegregated schools. Curriculum planning in desegregated schools must interrelate the facets of classroom experience, special services, and co-curricular activities in creating a new and vital all-school program which will facilitate curricular integration in its most specific applications.

The factors considered herein point to this single need and fact: Whatever is developed for those students in racially desegregated classrooms *must* be definitively different from present and existing curricular programs. To provide students more of that which was a meaningless failure in racially imbalanced schools will be tragically myopic. Furthermore, it will candidly indicate that the problem of racial integration in schools has either not been recognized and defined or that we do not know how, or care, to deal with it effectively! □

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[9] Robert S. Harnack. "Resource Units and the Computer." *The High School Journal* 51 (3): 126-31; December 1967.

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Whose Children Shall We Teach?

ROMEO ELDRIDGE PHILLIPS

THE writer recently served on a panel with a political scientist and a sociologist. The topic for the evening was given the ambiguous title, "The Polarization in Our Society." Our assignment was to ad lib as to our perceptions of this phenomenon.

The sociologist gave an analogy of the social stratification within the American society and delivered an excellent dissertation on acculturation and enculturation.

The political scientist, who has a degree in divinity, outlined the whys and wherefores of the American political system and how the church fits into it.

The writer supported the pontifications of the two speakers. However, I stated that the public schools are the only places where the sons and daughters of college professors, maids, janitors, pimps, prostitutes, and preachers are found. In a typical college town where there is only one senior high school, they are found in the same building.

Teaching All the Children

It would appear plausible that the sons and daughters of employers and employees meet on a continuum of sociality daily. To look at this conglomerate of upper, middle, and lower income youths, one realizes that the public school is truly an arena. The writer submitted then and submits now that the home and church have abdicated their individual responsibility to the young people of this nation. Therefore, the public schools by inheritance and default now must really and completely "teach" *all* the children of *all* the public! Let us cite some observations to support this hypothesis.

Many white Americans have contended that they did not leave the large cities to "get away" from black Americans, but because they desired a better quality of education for their children. On the other hand, many chose to live in a particular neighborhood because they, too, desired a better quality of education for their children. If a person's income permitted him, the movement became a living reality. One must remember, however, that an exodus from a given area does not render it a ghost town. To the contrary, living bodies remain—and in large numbers.

Let us follow the public school sojourn of a child whose parents have moved to a certain neighborhood in a typical college town. It is amazing how shortsighted we can be.

When one moves into a "certain" neighborhood, it is his intention to be with those of his kidney, that is, at his level within the bourgeoisie. It is reasonable to assume that the schools will be populated with these types of children. This assumption is one-third accurate: the middle-junior high school will have children from several neighborhoods; the senior high school will have children from *all* neighborhoods!

It appears that the runner ran in a circle. If one had wanted to expose a son or daughter to the "best" families, it would appear that this should be during the period of early

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pubescence when discriminate taste develops. During this period, it is not what Mom or Dad desires, it is what "I" want. We call this the period of adolescent rebellion. It is logical to conclude, then, that only the elementary school can supply the "quality of education" sought by the mover-runner. Let us look into the high school where all three "types" are housed.

The teachings, mores, fears, prejudices, etc., of parents are placed on public display in the senior high school. It is in the senior high school that the 14-or-so years of neighborhood values training bear fruit. It is in the senior high school that the realities of heterogeneous living are tried. Truly, the senior high school is an educational arena. The public schools have been given the task either of curing all the social ills or of serving as a deterrent. For some 180-odd days each year the public schools face these problems head on.

Often potential teachers are heard repeating statements of veteran teachers about certain schools in certain school districts. They may express a desire not to work in certain schools in certain school districts. When reminded that they are seeking a certificate to teach in the *public* schools and not in certain types of public schools, expressions of ambivalence about teaching pour from their lips. The shock of being expected to teach *all* the children of *all* the public—including poor whites, blacks, American Indians, and Spanish speaking—creates a form of academic amitosis. One would guess that when they are reminded of this, the potential teachers may experience a form of ametropia. Sometimes it appears that such beginners no longer see public school teaching as before. Yet and still, a horrible disservice would be created if they were not made to acknowledge such a commitment as being realistic.

The writer has often been asked these questions: What types of teachers are in the public schools? What subroles must we play, since the church and home no longer appear to really care?

Types of Teachers

There are five types of teachers currently drawing wages in the public schools. Each is easily recognized.

1. The Rebel—is against the entire system, but has no suggested plan of change.
2. The Retreatist—wants out of teaching, is constantly seeking other employment, and leaves, usually, with his or her leave bank empty.
3. The Ritualist—has retired on the job, and continues to repeat the same lessons year in and year out. This teacher can quote page, paragraph, and sentence of the text.
4. The Conformist—goes along with what is current without making an effort to contribute. In many cases this person and the ritualist are related.
5. The Innovator—sees the need for change and seeks to bring it about without antagonism. This effort ranges from his/her classroom to the district.

One who teaches must be conditioned to accept the following subroles:

1. A mediator of learning
2. A judge
3. A disciplinarian
4. A confidant
5. A parent substitute
6. A surrogate of middle class values.

If, in fact, we have five types of teachers currently in the public schools and if teachers should subscribe to these six subroles, we must look at the teacher-preparing institutions.

Since the orbiting of Sputnik I, men with names such as Bestor, Rickover, Conant, Clark, Malcolm X, and McKissick have charged that the teacher education institutions are not doing their job. Of these various charges, the one heard most often is that potential teachers are being prepared to work with just one segment of our society—the middle!

The truth of the matter, they are saying, is that one does not really teach, per se, the middle segment. This highly motivated segment needs only guidance. Teaching must be at the extremes of the continuum. Because of this fact many veteran "teachers" obtain and seek assignments in such schools. Knowing this, potential teachers seek such non-available assignments. Teacher education institutions contribute to this dastardly deed by holding back two-thirds of the information needed—the fact that we have three types of communities within the public school arena. It is inexplicable why neophyte teachers must develop this awareness by empirical design.

Too many teacher education institutions have developed what the writer calls "slogan shibboleths." Many of these are really polite euphemisms, for they appear to be evasive in nature. One does not talk about "teaching the whole child" only to point out negatives, for example, "low IQ scores," "a product of an illegitimate affair," and "too much freedom and money." Children may be dumb, but they are not stupid. They need not be told which type of teacher so-and-so is. They know that actions speak louder than words. For potential teachers not to be prepared to teach *all* the children of *all* the public is malfeasance. Potential teachers must be told what is expected of them and the professor is professionally obligated to "tell it like it is"!

Problem of Accountability

The problem on hand now is what must be done to teach students currently enrolled. The problem is compounded by the fact that many teachers are aware of these differences but choose not to adapt their presentations to fit the experiences of their charges. What can be done to rectify this situation?

Teachers unions appear not to be concerned about making teachers accountable. If a teacher is accountable, it is a personal desire. Accountability in labor unions known to the writer revolves around wages. As a worker produces so is he paid. When he works up to expectations he is, naturally, praised; when he works under the basic standards he is moved.

A teacher is protected by state law plus a master contract. However, unlike the members of labor unions, a teacher has no demands made on him to produce. He is not accountable and accepts all pay raises with no scruples of conscience. Knowing this to be true, citizens have resorted to extralegal means to gain teacher accountability.

In the suburbs, parents often check the content of their children's assignments. The same is true in "choice" neighborhoods in large cities and college communities. It is not unusual for Bobby's father, who is a professor of math at the local college, to challenge the teacher's math competency. Knowing the level of academic sophistication of his students' parents, the teacher usually shapes up or ships out.

The ghetto poor lack academic sophistication; they measure results. They know that they send their children to school for an education. The children may remain for some 13 inclusive years only to emerge lacking the ability to read. Parents are not stupid. They are now seeking methods of community control via the purse strings of school employees. They measure step-by-step what their children learn. If it is adjudicated that the learning did not take place, they want the teachers' wages affected, union master contract to the contrary notwithstanding.

When the ghetto poor rise up, it is unusual. A case in point is the Ocean Hill-Brownsville fiasco in New York in the fall of 1968. The public schools can expect more of the same as parents, ghetto poor parents, demand education of a quality comparable to that found outside their community. In the process the teacher education institutions will not come out unscathed. After all, it is they who trained the present cadre so inadequately. Pedagogics must expand to include the three socioeconomic levels. Teachers must be, so to speak, educational chameleons.

The business of teaching in this country is now, more than before, very serious business. Politicians no longer can afford to use the public schools as vehicles for reelection. Adequate funds are needed, and all three groups are united in this effort. Politicians react favorably to pressure. The ghetto poor know that a person without a marketable skill is a drain on society. They expect the public schools to provide the training. Our country has been made aware of the reality of the waste of brain power by not tapping the resources of the poor.

The Answer Is Easy

Whose children shall we teach? It appears that the answer is quite easy. We teach *all* the children of *all* the public, regardless of circumstance of birth, status of parents, and innate ability. If we do *not* believe in public education, we had better say so and commence to provide for those who will be eliminated. If we believe that the public *should* have the opportunity to be educated, then we had better act that way.

This means that the power structure, commencing with the teacher education institutions, must make the present and future cadre accountable. Ivan Pavlov used food with his dogs; perhaps money would be a viable control stimulus for humans, that is, pay would be determined by the quality of the work. No work—no pay! After all, we must stop the brain drain. If we can put men on the moon, surely we should be able to work with the known. Our greatest investments are our children. *All* of them must be taught!

Since the ghetto poor, like the members of the middle and upper classes, desire and are now demanding results from their children's education, the public school arena has become a battleground. The "haves" have the resources to supplement via the tutoring route that which the public schools fail to accomplish. The "have-nots" do not have the resources, but they are demanding the same results within the same period of time. Since both sets of children are to compete in the same society, it is fair that both be given equal opportunities. The only "resource" available to the "have-nots" is the ability to destroy. We need not go into the psychological reasoning why this "resource" is used, for we know that it is used. We must concentrate our efforts so that the ghetto poor will feel that there is no need to use this "resource." Although they have nothing to lose, likewise they will not gain by using this "resource." It is better for the "have-nots" to gain a fair shake than for the "haves" to be reduced to the status of "have-nots."

The acculturation and enculturation outlined by the sociologist, as well as the role of the church and the politics of our society outlined by the political scientist, highlight the responsibility of the public schools. No matter how lucid the oratory about the need for a high quality of public education for every child, it boils down to what was said by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: "Either we're going to live together as brothers and sisters or we're going to die together like fools." It appears that the only light in the lighthouse to guide our society is the public school. This light must not go out. □

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Instructional Materials Can Assist Integration

M. Lucia James

THERE is little wonder that a 21-year-old middle class white college graduate would ask, "What do I teach a group of 13-year-old Negro, American Indian, Puerto Rican, Oriental, or Mexican American inner-city children?" His Negro counterpart raises a similar question, "What should I teach these 13-year-old middle class white youths about the Negro and other minority groups: the Puerto Rican, American Indian, Oriental, or Mexican American?"

Questions such as these are to be expected when one analyzes the present school situation. The average minority child—the Negro, Oriental, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, or American Indian—attends a highly segregated school in which the characteristics of the student body are predominantly the same as his (1). Likewise, of the 2.4 million white school children, 2 million attend schools in which 90 percent of the students are of the same race (2).

"What we know about anything relates directly to the way we behave about it." Paraphrased, "What racial groups know about each other is reflected directly in the way they relate to each other." From this, one may infer that understanding and knowledge among racial groups will help immeasurably toward achieving integration. Integration is more than physical presence. It exists when people of all races accept themselves and each other, recognize the value of their differences, know the contributions of all groups, and have an opportunity to interact (3).

The school should be a major social institution for achieving integration. However, the integration process is effective only when the educational experiences of the students are designed with the intent to develop an understanding of all groups, and to provide adequate opportunities for each individual to acquire positive relationships and mutual respect for each other. These changes can be initiated and implemented through the use of instructional materials, as well as through course content, methods of instruction, and teacher attitudes (4).

A Lasting Impact

Until recently, textbooks and other instructional materials which most school systems across the nation used were often void or grossly inadequate in their treatment of minorities; others reflected ethnocentrism (5). As the most universally used instructional material, the textbook has significant influence. It suggests not only the organization and content of a course, but also the collateral readings, activities, and experiences (6). This makes one cognizant of how inextricable methods and materials are, and how the textbook perpetuates many of the attitudes that are prevalent in our society.

Until recently, few texts featured any Negro personalities. Few books used or courses offered reflected the harsh realities of life in the ghetto, or the contribution of Negroes to the country's culture and history (7).

M. Lucia James, Professor, Library Science Education, and Director, Curriculum Laboratory, University of Maryland, College Park

Instructional materials must be produced to create new conditions and to provide vicarious experiences for those who, because of *de facto* or *de jure* segregation of schools, are deprived of the opportunity to have direct contact with or to learn about minorities. Instructional materials are needed also for use by minority groups who, regardless of social class, are bound by a color-caste complex that affects their self-concept (8), and who, because of the absence of or paucity of materials relevant to their environment, culture, or contributions of their race, have become hostile toward society and question the utility of what is being taught (9).

It is not to be assumed that materials can substitute for direct experiences and contact among racial groups. They do, however, have a significant and lasting impact. When placed in proper perspective and used intelligently, a wide variety of well-selected multi-media, multi-ethnic instructional materials can become creative and effective instruments for fostering integration. Emphasis should be placed on utilizing an abundance of up-to-date materials rather than a single type. As is true of the textbook, no one type can develop adequately all aspects of a concept; achieve the various purposes for which individuals use the materials; and still provide for the complexity of needs, individual differences, experiences, and interests of the users.

Among the types and forms of instructional materials to which students and teachers should have access, in addition to the textbook, are the following:

Reference books—basic, accurate, objective sources about minority groups, as *The Negro Almanac,* or the *International Library of Negro Life and History,* which can provide authentic historical and contemporary information.

Literary materials—biographies (other than those of Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, and Marian Anderson), fiction, poetry, short stories, drama, etc., that present minority groups in an authentic, contemporary setting with which they can identify or from which the majority group can gain insight into the social pressures that minorities endure. Stereotyped illustrations or distorted pictures of minorities should be avoided. An example is the illustration of Pedro sleeping under the yucca, which has become the stereotyped picture of the Mexican American.

Newspapers, newsletters, periodicals, and journals—sources for current happenings and analysis of news items regarding minorities, their economic and social problems. *Ebony, Afro-American,* the *Pittsburgh Courier, Southern Education Report,* and the *Journal of Negro History* are among suggested titles which should be available for *all* students, not just Negroes.

Films, filmstrips, records, tapes, microforms, television, and radio programs—authentic, up-to-date productions to provide historical as well as current information and sufficient facts to negate the stereotypes, myths, and fallacious generalizations about minority groups. The NET Series, "History of the Negro People," or the filmstrip, *Values,* by Louis Raths are examples.

Pamphlets and leaflets—brief, current discussions of related topics about minorities.

Flat pictures and photographs—outstanding individuals of minority groups, especially personalities of contemporary society; and pictures of integrated scenes portraying the natural everyday life of minorities who are not "tan-Nordic" or middle class.

Teacher- and pupil-prepared materials—creative art and writing, flat pictures, transparencies, etc., are often indispensable sources in the absence of appropriate instructional materials about minority groups.

Speeches, reports, diaries, songs—authentic, documentary, source materials. President Lyndon B. Johnson's speech, "To Fulfill These Rights," or William Katz's *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History* are among recommended sources.

Professional materials—books, as Heller's *Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at* *the Crossroads*, courses of study, curriculum materials prepared by the Regional Laboratories, research studies, and bibliographies. Examples of selective bibliographies are: *The Negro American in Paperback; Building Bridges of Understanding; Intergroup Education: Methods and Materials;* and *Reading Ladders for Human Relations.* Many school systems have developed comprehensive lists, as the *Cultural and Historical Contribution of American Minorities,* by the Buffalo Public Schools, and *Intergroup Relations,* produced jointly by the New York State Education Department and the State University of New York.

The social trend of rapid change is reflected increasingly in the availability of multi-ethnic materials. This trend is evident in materials prepared for use in many of the subject fields. In the social studies, as an example, *Land of the Free* places Negroes in the mainstream of American history and culture; in the Holt, Rinehart and Winston *Urban Social Studies Series,* children can identify with the incidents and verbalize their emotions from the integrated photographs.

Basal readers, as the *Skyline Series* and the *Chandler Reading Program,* introduce multi-racial groups in normal school and play situations; an inclusive, rather than an exclusive society is reflected. The new Steck-Vaughn *Human Values Series* helps to develop the concept of self and stress the inner reactions shared by *all* children. This trend is reflected also in trade books and other types of instructional materials, yet there is still a dearth of well-developed, accurate, multi-ethnic materials that present the life experiences of minorities, or present them in a natural realistic setting.

In contrast to the popular belief that social studies is the logical phase of the curriculum to discuss minorities or intergroup relations, every subject and experience of the educational program should include such relations, and should utilize up-to-date materials. Obsolete, outdated instructional materials which omit topics on intergroup living, or which present stereotypes of minorities, should be discarded. This is essential if materials are to assist in integration.

Dignity and Worth

As was evident from a cursory examination of several recent curriculum guides, many elementary and secondary schools are introducing courses in humanities and anthropology. In many of these programs the basic concepts from the study of "man as a human being" are being developed, and the fundamental dignity and worth of every individual, regardless of race, color, or creed, are emphasized as a solution to our societal problems.

Realizing the value of a variety of instructional materials to support the curriculum, publishers are producing different types of materials and media that can be adapted to new educational strategies. Critical thinking and inquiry, role playing, and other group process and problem-solving skills are only a few of these strategies which can and should be used with instructional materials to foster intergroup relations and racial understanding. Critical inquiry and thinking, in-depth studies, role playing, scientific analysis, and discovery methods should help students and teachers to evaluate objectively, to distinguish fact from fallacy, and to acquire new truths from which they can generalize.

Although not designed solely to promote integration, many of the picture sets and profusely illustrated books can also be used: *Discussion Pictures for Beginning Social Studies, Words and Action, The Family of Man, The Color of Man,* and *Picture Packets.*

Since pictures can be used effectively to communicate attitudes, facts, and feelings (10), the picture sets suggested may be used to stimulate creative writing and art, as well as to develop role-playing and problem-solving skills. In either of these activities the student may reveal his feelings and attitudes toward minority groups.

If instructional materials are to be used to foster integration, some criteria for their selection must be based on the following:

1. An accurate, adequate, objective presentation of basic concepts of race and culture
2. Sufficient facts to eradicate the prejudgments and generalizations about minorities
3. Emphasis on human values—the dignity and worth of each individual
4. The diversity of American life in a meaningful, realistic, unbiased manner, with interaction among multicultural, multiracial, and multireligious groups
5. An objective treatment of the problems and obstacles, as well as the contributions of each minority group
6. Well-developed content, with the basic concepts and principles of the particular subject expressed adequately.

The use of instructional materials is not a panacea; mere facts or materials are insufficient to change persons who have strong prejudgments and prejudices. Materials, however, can provide new insights, and extend and expand knowledge and appreciation of others. They can also provide the information needed to allay the unwarranted fears and insecurity, destroy the myths and stereotypes, and eradicate misunderstandings. Yet it is the teacher who seizes every opportunity to help his students develop a measure of sensitivity, to create a climate in which a change of attitudes, feelings, and understandings is possible, and who in the end will determine how effectively instructional materials assist in the integration process.

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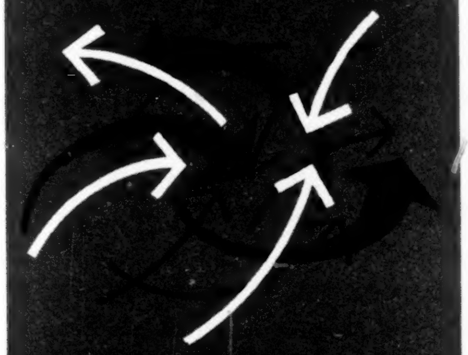

6

ETHNIC STUDIES: THE RICHNESS OF PLURALISM

> *Surely at this point in time we have learned that democracy is based on differences rather than sameness. Only upon the acceptance of differences can we grow toward an awareness of the value of cultural diversity in a society which is only beginning to realize that it is pluralistic.* Miller, p. 140.

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Teaching Afro-American History with a Focus on Values

SIDNEY SIMON
ALICE CARNES

A FAIR treatment of the black man's role in history is long overdue. More and more material is available to teachers to make the black experience really come alive. It cannot be taught without emotional reaction, however. Inevitably, the student's own racial values will get in the way of level-headed consideration of innocent enough historical facts, but to teach it with utter blandness would be all wrong. Negro history is too viable to justify name-dropping Crispus Attucks and then rushing on to the next Negro in order to make sure we get through the Coolidge Administration so we can mention Malcolm X in time for the final exam.

The study of Afro-American history is particularly ripe with values implications because the jump between *then* and *now* is too often not very startling. Many of the white students will not find it very hard to think like a plantation owner, and a fair percentage of the black students may do everything but call the teacher Mistah Charlie. Working on black history will bring to the surface many of the conflicts which too often only break out on the playground.

It is these very values conflicts which need to be aired, faced, and clarified if we are to have hope for some racial peace in this country.

The Hot Passion of Values

Teachers would be more willing to deal with the hot passion of values in the classroom if they knew some techniques for working with values in more systematic ways. Perhaps, too, they would avoid those typical pitfalls of moralizing, indoctrinating, or preaching. The sad truth is that there is probably no worse way to grapple with values than to insist that every student come out with the accepted set of values. What we advocate is the *search* for values, and our entire approach is focused upon the *process* which teaches how to build values, rather than memorize them.[1]

Take the following, for example. We call it "rank ordering."

1. *Rank ordering.* Put questions like these to one student at a time. Write alternatives on the board and ask him to rank them 1-2-3.

You are a slave who has been promised a brutal whipping. After thinking out the consequences, do you:

1. Run away
2. Fight the master
3. Take the whipping?

You are a slave woman with children who has a chance to escape. Do you:

1. Escape alone

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[1] For a fuller explanation of the theory supporting this approach and for other values strategies, see: Louis E. Raths, Merrill Harmin, and Sidney B. Simon. *Values and Teaching.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1966.

Sidney Simon, Professor of Humanistic Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; and Alice Carnes, Teaching Assistant, Department of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

2. Stay with the children
3. Take them along?

You are a plantation slave whose master has fled before the Union Army. Do you:

1. Try to carry on the work of the plantation
2. Ransack the place
3. Run away to the Union lines?

It should be apparent that these rank orders can involve students almost immediately. Although they are supposedly rank-ordering what they would do as a slave who has been promised a whipping, their own lives and their own values are what they are really talking about.

Briefly, the aim of this approach to values is to direct the student toward the examination and clarification of his own values. A "value" is defined operationally as something freely chosen, after due reflection, from among alternatives; it is, moreover, something which is prized, publicly affirmed, and acted upon. Students are encouraged to apply these criteria to the beliefs they voice in class.

As students learn to apply these criteria consistently in their study of history, they become skillful in carrying these standards over to their understanding of current events and to those more personal things which surround their daily living. For example, take the technique we call the values continuum.

2. *The values continuum:* the image of the slave.

"Sambo" and Nat Turner are at opposite poles, and while polar thought is useful at times, in the case of slavery it is probably a distortion of reality. To help students imagine the shades of grey between two stereotypes, draw a line on the board to represent a continuum of values.

"Sambo"	Nat Turner
(complete submission)	(open revolt)

Make a listing of alternative positions (aiding fugitives, playing a role for the white man, attending secret church services, escaping via the Underground Railway, informing on other slaves, etc.). The students individually or as a group try to place these and other alternatives along the continuum. (It isn't as easy at it looks!)

Now, some teachers would then be content to move on to the next topic of study. Others would, perhaps, try to take it up another notch in the process of value clarification. Such teachers might ask:

1. In your way of dealing with *teachers,* where are *you* on the continuum?
2. Make a rank order of the various stances people take when black people move into a previously all-white neighborhood.
3. What do *you* really want to achieve in terms of race relations for America? What are you willing to do about it?

It is important to stress that if the teacher is really to help search for values, he must not punish those students who give him the "wrong" values and reward those who feed him the party line. On the other hand, he is not to remain chameleon-like and agree with everything. He may have a position which he states strongly, but he offers it as only one alternative, for consideration, not for adoption.

In fact, just to keep the issue alive and, in a sense, confused, he may play devil's advocate to great advantage.

3. *Devil's advocate.* "Put on your horns" and challenge the class to disagree, as you play the devil's role broadly and sardonically. "What was wrong with slavery anyway? Why, the slave worked in the fields only fourteen hours a day, which was two hours less than his white counterpart in the factories. He had housing, sometimes even with windows and floors; he got half a pound of meat a week; and after he was old enough to work he'd get a new pair of jeans every year. The slave had no responsibilities. He didn't have to marry or stand trial in court. And his kindly ol' massa took care of him in his old age."

4. *Open-minded question.* Give as an essay assignment: "If I were in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau I would . . ."

5. *Role playing.* Establish a plantation system in the classroom. (The teacher should immediately volunteer to be a slave.) Set up situations: the slave too sick to work, the father who watches his son get whipped, the master's amorous overtures to a slave woman. Introduce alternatives by bringing in other characters. Have students switch roles within the same situation.

6. *The values sheet.* Here is a sample values sheet taken from *Values and Teaching.*[2] It can be assigned in class or as homework. It is important to give students time to think. Later, the sheets may be used as the basis for discussion; or the teacher can simply leave them in the hands of the students.

Merry-Go-Round
by Langston Hughes

Where is the Jim Crow section
On this merry-go-round, Mister?
Cause I want to ride.

Down South where I come from
White and colored
Can't sit side by side.

Down South on the train
There's a Jim Crow car.
On the bus we're put in back—
But there ain't no back
To a merry-go-round!
Where's the horse
For a kid that's black? [3]

1. When was the last time you were on a merry-go-round?

2. If you happened to be in line and overheard the incident that takes place in the poem, is there anything *you* might have said to that little boy?

3. Have you ever experienced anything similar to that boy's feeling?

4. What prejudice, subtle or otherwise, have you ever personally faced?

5. If you wanted to *do* something about the problem of "civil rights," what are some things you could do:

   a. Right in this school, through some school group

   b. In your town, with some community organization

   c. On the national level?

6. Perhaps you believe that nothing needs to be done about this problem. If so, state that position clearly and forcefully.

These are not techniques which "reach" every child; but they have a marked effect upon some. A child who expresses racist beliefs may come to see that his belief was accepted per se from his parents, friends, and other persons, without questioning or consideration of alternatives. Students who profess liberal or militant views may begin to weigh the extent to which they are willing to act upon them. If nothing else, these strategies encourage students to think.

The teaching of Afro-American history is a trend we can little ignore. Riots are a reality we had better heed, but more tokenism is not what we need. Black history must be taught as more than a reluctant submission to a fad. Giving it the highly charged focus of the search for values could make the difference. □

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Langston Hughes. *Selected Poems.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1959. Specified excerpt from: Ralph Ellison. *The Invisible Man.* p. 7.

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The Case for Black Studies

CHARLES E. WILSON

CURRICULUM developers, educators, and school officials are not too different from Americans in other walks of life. School officials prefer to take the easy way out. They take this easy way whenever confronted with alternatives to the nation's long-term mistreatment of black people in the study of history.

At this stage in American history it is easier, for instance, to discredit as "separatist" the emergence of a black community than to deal with the demands of the ethnic group for an end to a regime of cultural domination. It is easier to confuse tokenism (the perfunctory acknowledgment of nonwhites) with genuine racial integration. It is easier to denigrate the ideas of those outsiders with whom the educators disagree, by calling the outsiders "dirty names"—like "militant"—than to try to understand the ideas themselves.

From this frame of reference, too, it is far easier to challenge the dissatisfied to present constructive, affirmative proposals than to recognize the destructive nature of current offerings. And, finally, it is far, far easier to talk and write about some mystical curriculum approach to democratic values than to face the strain of fantasy and the narcissistic predisposition to European cultural values which underlie much of today's school curricular offerings.

Captured by the philosophy of the easy way, it is not a great step to perceive that the minds of many Americans are therefore easily the prisoners of myths and popular misconceptions. The social myths concerning blacks, for example, range from notions of the "happy docile slave" of yesterday to the wistful yearning for the "black urban primitive" of today. The appeal of these stereotypes is buttressed by the broad conviction that nonwhites simply have no history, no accomplishment worth mentioning, no past, and no future. After all, isn't everyone alike? America's racial myths transform ethnic differences into *minor* inconveniences.

Victimized by such distortions, the American collective spirit is just as unable to consider the need for a curriculum geared to blacks or other ethnic groups as its educational establishment is *unwilling* to develop such a course of study.

For what Americans of almost all strata cannot face is that, if America is to be, she will have to become a multiracial society—

—that schools must be involved in the preparation of people for life in that kind of society.

—that neither white nor black Americans can proceed into the challenging era of multiracial society with a legacy of misinformation, half truths, and white propaganda fantasies, which has impeded their progress in the past.

It is important here to recognize that the largely local thrusts for black studies are no longer aimed at saving or educating white America at the expense of black America. The local demands call first for ridding

Charles E. Wilson, Senior Research Scientist, New Careers Training Laboratory, New York City. In 1969, Unit Administrator, I.S. 201 Complex, New York City blacks of the consequences of the racist oppression. This approach will just have to be different from the approach adopted for those whites who willingly or unwittingly are numbered among the oppressors.

Black curriculum–black studies then speak to a basic humane notion that rejects European cultural superiority, accepts human difference without implying inferiority, and accepts each group's unique character, viz., cultural pluralism. Over and above that, black curriculum speaks out harshly against the homogenized American melting pot fiction which seeks to dissolve the diverse American communities into an undifferentiated mass all for the sake of "educational uniformity." The young people of America have grasped this profound danger and they speak out against homogenization in their own words.

"There are indeed different strokes for different folks."

"Different ways on different days."

"No strokes for some folks."

Fears of Change

The basis for the demands for black studies has often been obscured by those who reject the notion as well as by the very ones who claim to "support" the idea. The resistance of the educational establishment to black studies is rooted in its own collective fears of change, its conviction that the selfsame educational establishment really knows what the power order will permit, and finally the educational establishment's wish not to have to examine its own assumptions and beliefs about the value of the current offerings (an example of the easy way out). The arguments of this segment are rooted in a cliché-filled rhetoric about the existence of some special American racial ethic to be established in the by and by. More important this rhetoric calls into play a group of sacrosanct rules and practices which just do not seem to exist in the real world.

The costumes, gyrations, antics, and phrases of some of those who "favor" the adoption of this ethnic kind of curriculum approach often call much attention to themselves as individuals and divert the attention of many from the basic issue. While picturing America as a racist society whose educational system reflects and shares its deeply rooted racism, some of the loudest sponsors of black curriculum offer little more for consideration than white droppings colored over to hide the fundamental deficiencies.

Flamboyant spokesmen have tried to suggest that black studies may be the easy answer to the racial tension or to the problems of black education. This misguided reasoning has been echoed by the pragmatic conservatives in the white majority who wish to limit the sectors of change in urban education to the least costly and least threatening areas. As one reactionary expressed it to this writer—"We'll give you all black studies but no arithmetic, science, or reading."

As viewed by the pragmatic conservatives and the super salesmen for black studies, the demands for widespread educational restructuring offer an easy alternative to real change. This approach shows just how important it is to avoid the lure of status without substance. The flamboyant spokesmen for change and the pragmatic conservatives who wish to limit the changes are both vulnerable to the charge that they are advocates of the unwise, the unsound, and the poorly conceived. Martin Kilson, a black professor at Harvard, dismissed these kinds of efforts when he wrote:

> Efforts by many advocates of the Black studies movement to portray Afro-American studies as the educational salvation of Black men display a deficiency of thought and common sense.[1]

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[1] Arthur W. Lewis. "The Road to the Top Is Through Higher Education—Not Black Studies." *New York Times,* May 11, 1969. Reprinted from *University, A Princeton Quarterly,* Spring 1969. Copyright © 1969 by Princeton University.

Other opponents of the current system of things suggest that the present offerings are largely irrelevant. Those who maintain that position point to the traditional Dick and Jane stories as classic examples of the fact that the stories and approaches are foreign to the experiences of urban lower class children. But these allegations are only the most apparent and the most obvious conclusions to be drawn from the material given to students from which to learn.

Curriculum offerings at their present level are irrelevant, not because they are white or because they are middle class, as many charge, but because they do not present readings and situations which deal with life, life's real options, its dreams, its problems, its realities, its beauties, and its uglinesses as life exists here in America. These current offerings are irrelevant because they make the black man seem like a kind of "white man incomplete"—incomplete not only in his own eyes, but incomplete in the eyes of his fellow men as well.

The case for black studies is obscured then by this kind of verbiage, sentiments, postures, self-indulgent pursuits, myths, and folk tales. But there is a genuine case for black or ethnic studies, a case found within the very needs of people black and white. And where else should the basis for curriculum be found but in the needs of the people?

Studies of Other Groups

While the racial romantics, on the one hand, the cynics in the middle, and the professional education skeptics on the other end of the continuum discuss their notions of black studies, a firm case can be constructed for black studies and multi-ethnic group studies. The case is rooted in the dual reality of this nation—a nation which at one and the same time is the world's foremost "democracy" yet which from its birth possessed a consistent virulent strain of racism embedded deep within her vitals; a nation with a verbalized creed of freedom but a history of domination, suppression, compression, and repression of black and other nonwhite people.

What educators must face is that this demand for ethnic studies is a product of long years of maltreatment. The maltreatment is a measure of a "racism of contempt that is anti-human, dangerous, that minimizes what it hates and devalues what it would exploit." In education this racism hides behind a group of mindless, ritualistic practices; behind an assumption-mask that induces continued victimization, that suggests that somehow the victims are either less intelligent, less capable, or less motivated, and that the institution somehow has nothing to do with the condition.

Many of the members of the education establishment, themselves, function toward the nonwhites and the low income victims of the system much like the British civil servants of yesteryear, doing time in one of the far-flung colonies. To these assumptions the demand for black studies is a threat, but the course of study is a logical response to the racism and to the handmaiden of racism, "educational colonialism."

It is for this very reason that a black curriculum is essential for the black student. No amount of pious rhetoric about the values of integration, or talk of the dignity of man, can equip black people to face the challenges, realities, and contradictions of America as it is. To attempt to limit such studies programs to the college level because, on that level, black studies somehow seem easier to provide, is both unrealistic and shortsighted. Black studies are required by black people on each and every level—for the educational colonialism is itself found on all levels.

If the goal of education is to truly liberate people and to equip them as individuals and as members of society, with the capacity to be able to function within this society as well as to possess the capacity to change the undesirable and the unfair elements of their environment, then black studies do present some valuable tools. Black studies are not a substitute for training in the arts and sciences nor a substitute for orientation in the skills that will equip a person, child or adult, to function in this complex, technologically advanced, but morally bankrupt society. Black studies are a complement or a supplement and, for many black students, may be a point of contact with an educational process that has tried up to now to give them facts without helping them to gain a sense of self.

Black studies can attempt to redress the injustice perpetrated by the centuries-long record of cultural domination and systematic exclusion of black people from the pages of American history. As a part of a broad and effective course of study, black studies may go a long way toward putting substance into the shadowy talk about the dignity of "all men."

As a reflection of the society-deep concern for defining *man* and citizen in broader terms than those of 18-century European nationalism, black studies may begin to focus their attention on the need for a new model of man, a model unbound by the need to make, label, and exploit those whom we may classify as non-men.

For the opulent descendants of Europe, a familiarity with the contents of a black studies course on terms established by black people might be useful and extremely beneficial to their own understanding of who we are and what we are as a nation, and what we must be about, if we are to achieve a truly humane destiny.

If this nation is to take its place in a world increasingly aware of and sensitive to the reality that whites are in fact a numerical minority in the world, then Americans might be more willing to give up their racial hybris. The slogan "Black is beautiful" does not mean that "white is ugly." For man is beautiful—black studies, Chinese studies, Hispanic studies, ethnic studies are all legitimate sources of studies so that each child may in fact never have to trade a part of his heritage for a chance to join the rest of the American community in the enjoyment of the bounty and beauty of this land.

Forging a New Partnership

Unfortunately, disputes of race and social class are seldom solved by dispassionate discourse or reason. The current controversy over the demand for black studies is not a discussion of separatism as it has been portrayed but a demand for *cultural pluralism;* not a romantic notion but a *cultural necessity;* not a threat to the status quo but a threat to the *assertion of cultural superiority;* not a threat to peace and order but a thrust toward *justice and dignity.*

The case for black studies on the various levels of education, not just on the university level, speaks effectively to the needs of black children and adults who so desperately need to know alternatives to the cultural dominance that has been a part of the American past. For America must come to face herself as she really is—increasingly two hostile camps, one black and one white—and then do something to heal the breach.

The hostile camps are the product of the centuries of domination and exploitation. To seek to perpetuate the domination only increases the polarization. To understand the growing world demand for the development of a truly multiracial society is to recognize that the current "status quo white studies"—or do we call them colorless studies—cannot continue without change. Education must begin to prepare our citizens for a truly brave and a wide new world. That preparation will have to be designed to meet the needs of the different groups who must comprise this new multiracial society.

If those who read this article and those who make key curriculum decisions can become convinced that black studies are an opportunity rather than a threat; that black studies are a *hope* rather than a sign of hopelessness; that black studies can inject life into what is now the sterile recapitulation of tired old white middle class racial fantasies—*then* a new healthy human partnership between the black and the white of America may be forged. And Americans at all levels must come to understand that the thrust for black studies and the thrust of other ethnic groups demanding studies programs reflect the fact that a new partnership will have to be forged in this society. For blacks and other groups will no longer settle for a junior partnership. ☐

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Needed: Ethnic Studies in Schools

GENEVA GAY

A MAJOR concern in the current reevaluation of American education is how to provide a high quality of education for minority youth. Members of ethnic minorities have attacked traditional educational policy designed to perpetuate only one cultural heritage as being inherently ethnocentric, unjust, and unrealistic in a culturally pluralistic setting.

Demands are being widely made for opportunities for learning experiences and for programs which are designed specifically for, are sensitive to, and are designed to reflect the needs, attitudes, and the cultural conditioning particularly of Blacks, Mexican Americans, Indians, and Puerto Ricans. Many school systems have responded to these demands by instituting "minority studies programs" in various forms and degrees, from integrating American history courses to creating completely separate departments. Yet most such programs seem designed to be introduced in the curriculum via social studies and literature courses of study.

These minority studies programs are too often taken at face value. They are assumed to be ethnic studies simply because more information about Blacks, Mexican Americans, Indians, and other minority groups is beginning to appear in school curricula. Yet most of these programs are hastily organized, based upon a mistaken belief that historical facts constitute ethnic studies, and likely were motivated by desires to improve academic performances of minority students. In some ways such programs are similar to their forerunner, compensatory education.

The concept of cultural deprivation which laid the philosophical foundation of compensatory education proclaimed that the ghetto child's academic failures resulted from his cognitive limitations, his deprived background, and his stunted personal, social, and cultural development. It was believed that these deficiencies could be corrected and the child's readiness for formal education accelerated by providing compensatory stimulation.

The result was numerous programs of reading readiness, guidance counseling, and culturally enriching experiences (including field trips, concerts, and visitors).

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Minority Studies

The current emphasis in minority studies has shifted somewhat. More attention seems given now to the child's perceptions of himself and to how these affect his relations in and adaptations to society. Negative self-concepts and identity crises are considered major obstacles to successful academic performance. To correct these problems, schools have launched programs designed to help minority students find out more about their own cultural heritages. Most of these programs fall into the category of "minority studies" such as Black studies, Afro-American studies, Mexican American studies, and Latin American studies.

Social studies and literature courses of study are especially susceptible to revision to accommodate the new trends. It is much easier to add names of Negroes to the list of heroes studied in American history than it is to introduce courses which capture the essence of minority cultures. This maneuver to "integrate" the study of ethnic groups into the existing curriculum structures appears to be the preferred technique because it comes closer to approximating the ideal of unanimity or the melting pot myth among American people than does any other. This explains the current emphasis on selecting textbooks and courses of study which are integrated and well balanced in their treatment of different ethnic groups, rather than treating them as separate cultural entities. Unquestionably these changes are needed to update curricula. However, they do not constitute ethnic studies, nor are they enough to meet the educational needs of minority students.

Minority studies, irrespective of how numerous, will continue to be incapable of meeting the needs of minority youth as long as traditional educational philosophy and policies remain essentially the same. Presumably American education is designed for the perpetuation and transmission of cultural heritage and to give students the tools with which to facilitate their participation in society. Nevertheless, education largely has had the reverse effect on minority people and their culture.

In a sense, the emphasis on one system of education for all has caused a kind of cultural genocide and has made minority students feel alienated and isolated in middle class schools. It has ignored both the treatment of their culture in courses of study and the perspective from which they view education. Black life styles, for example, have been considered as merely inadequate and maladjusted manifestations of middle class norms. Black students have been taught to question the worthiness of their social life patterns and to dismiss their training and experiences prior to entering school as a conglomeration of deviances and deficiencies.

Authentic Programs

Schools have operated on the premise that the influences of these students' preschool and social *miseducation* had to be eradicated before they could proceed with classroom activities with any degree of success. Such attitudes have been communicated to students in numerous ways. Curriculum materials have treated minorities very stereotypically. Authentic information has been distorted, ignored, and/or omitted. Myths, prejudices, and stereotypes have been perpetuated through school programs. Even the few Blacks who "made" the history books were treated either as an afterthought or in a condescending manner.

These attitudes are so firmly entrenched in the educational system that they are extremely difficult to change. Yet educators seem all too unaware of the effects these attitudes have had and continue to have on minority students. They are quick to believe that change can be effected and positive self-concepts developed merely by integrating American history and literature. They seem to feel that if Black students are given a few more Black heroes to emulate, their identity crises will be solved, they will develop pride in themselves and their culture, they will achieve higher levels of academic success, and they will be able to function more effectively in society. Having thus instituted minority studies, educational systems applaud themselves and receive plaudits from a variety of groups for having gallantly risen to the challenge of what to do about the education of minority students. Yet Negro history is not enough to meet the needs of Black students. Nor are Mexican American studies adequate for Chicano students. Needed is the institution of authentic and comprehensive programs of ethnic studies in schools.

Granted, revision of history courses to reflect the true role of minority citizens in the development of American culture is a step in the right direction. Yet at best it is only a teetering step. Black and other minority studies programs are a beginning, but there is still a great deal more to be done before education can be said to have been made relevant to minority youth. One answer to the dilemma is asserted to be ethnic studies. Unfortunately, minority studies have been mistakenly perceived to be ethnic studies. Black studies and Negro history do not of themselves constitute ethnic studies. The concept of ethnic studies is much more complex than the assumptions underlying minority studies.

A New Perspective

Ethnic studies, as suggested here, would begin with the development of a new perspective from which to approach the process of teaching minority students. Attitude changes are as important to its implementation as new content, if not more so. To be realistic and successful, ethnic studies will be fully cognizant of and sensitive to all the ramifications of what it is like for a people to exist in a perceived oppressive society, the mechanisms which have evolved to facilitate adaptation and survival, and the culture that has resulted from these experiences. The programs must rely heavily upon the theories and methodology of the behavioral sciences, especially social psychology, sociology, and anthropology, and use their techniques in the pedagogic processes. They must capture the essence of the culture of the particular ethnic group for which they are designed.

This means that *one* ethnic studies program will not suffice. It is impossible to create a single program to serve all minorities. This is one of the major weaknesses of the current minority studies—that is, the belief that the same Black studies programs can serve both black and white students equally well. Consequently, there must be as many ethnic studies programs as there are ethnic groups. This innovation must be perceived as more than a series of culture-bound courses. It must also, and most important, include the frames of reference, the philosophical outlooks, and the methodologies with which the teaching of minority students is approached.

These programs must operate from the position of a Black, a Mexican American, a Puerto Rican, or other specific frame of reference, approaching *his* education through *his* outlook and world view, and reflecting the understanding of why and how *he* has been conditioned to function as he does. Integrated American history simply cannot do this. Nor can minority studies as presently conceived. Knowing that a Benjamin Banneker or a Charles Drew was a famous *Black* man will not help a Black ghetto student survive in today's world. Simply knowing these facts is not any guarantee that he will be proud of being Black or know who he is after he learns these little tidbits.

Before the child learns, he must be able to identify with the situations and see some possibilities for transference or application of the knowledge to his daily life. To create this atmosphere, the child's background experiences and cultural heritage must become the structural framework and the unifying forces which give order, purpose, and direction to the educational activities designed for minority youth. Once these attitudinal and philosophical changes have taken place within school policies and personnel, educators can begin to talk in realistic terms about improving the education of ethnic minorities. Until then, we will continue deluding ourselves into believing a high quality of education is possible *vis-à-vis* minority studies while, at best, these innovations are only temporary, stopgap maneuvers used to relieve the intense pressures of criticisms leveled against contemporary educational systems.

A Promising Medium

Ethnic studies are a promising medium through which to achieve the self-actualization of minority students. They promise the most feasible means by which school experiences and social realities may be related in close harmony. They can provide a continuity and a logical progression in place of what is now fragmented, uncoordinated segments of education. Particular subjects or courses of study become only incidental tools to be used for the application of concepts. In reality, subjects probably count for less than the perspective with which the teaching of those subjects is approached.

The essence of ethnic studies is the creation and utilization of cultural context teaching and culturally bound learning experiences. Once this procedure has been established there no longer will be any question of lack of academic motivation, alienated and disenchanted youth, or irrelevant education.

Students should be interested and achieve more academically. Ethnic studies should allow students the opportunity to be actively and intimately involved in their learning experiences and for education to encompass and build on the strengths of their entire life styles.

The need for new conceptualization of ethnic studies seems overdue. Minority studies programs may have transient merits within themselves, but they fall far short of doing what needs to be done in order to make education a meaningful enterprise for minority students. They are terminal because they fail to consider an essential factor necessary for the maturation and personal and intellectual development of any child—his cultural conditioning as an organized, systematic structure of values, beliefs, norms, customs, and traditions which influence his every response to social stimuli. An important answer to the dilemma of how to educate minority students is through ethnic studies. This seems to be the only alternative which conceivably can foster the development of functional citizenship, pride in self and culture, and self-actualization.

The need for a high quality of education for minority students is so crucial that ethnic studies should receive top priority in any consideration of educational needs and curriculum innovations. □

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Materials for Multi-Ethnic Learners

LAMAR P. MILLER

ENLIGHTENED educators recognize that our educational system has failed in a most fundamental way to provide a relevant education for black and other ethnic groups. Many will agree that the root cause of this failure is racism—the type of racism, conscious or unconscious, which dictates the choice of curriculum materials and the way these are presented. Few understand, however, the basic disagreement on educational issues that revolves around the differences in what is important and critical for Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Indian, Oriental, and various other ethnic groups.

Those of us who have grown up as the products of minority groups have been provided with a set of experiences that are different from those of the vast majority of Americans. It is these experiences that determine which events we perceive as unimportant, as important, and as critical. If one were able to look at these differential experiences over time, then one could clearly discern a pattern, a rhythm of events which may be different in the black community, for example, than the accumulation of important events in the white community.

Since various ethnic groups have a different reality, it is important to understand that, for the times in which we live, their priorities refer to a different ordering system with different imperatives for the future. Therefore, in order to consider relevant curriculum materials for multi-ethnic learners in a technological age, the topic must be viewed from the perspective of those ethnic groups involved.

Interest in securing relevant curriculum materials has increased considerably in the recent past. Today when widespread social and technological changes are taking place in our lives, whether we like it or not, and when still other changes seem necessary to preserve us from disaster, understanding of what is relevant to our society seems particularly important. In spite of the current interest, however, and the efforts of theorists in the past to devise a curriculum that would teach individuals how to control their surroundings rather than submit to them, we have never really had a curriculum that adequately reflected the multi-ethnic nature of our society.

Although the topic of relevant materials is not exactly a new development, we are at least beginning to recognize that technology coupled with a social revolution, as evidenced by the increased demands for relevance on the part of ethnic groups, is evolving as part of an effort to achieve order and direction in the teeth of accelerating changes. Nowhere has this been pointed out more vividly than in the case of black studies. Even the future is no longer remote. As John Pfeiffer put it:

> Education as a way, the way ultimately, to a better world—as a force against poverty, ill health, and crime—is less a utopian idea than it was a generation ago.[1]

Yesterday's possibilities are today's programs because we really have no choice. We

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[1] John Pfeiffer. *New Look at Education.* Poughkeepsie, New York: Odyssey Press, 1968. pp. 78-79. Reprinted by permission of the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

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used to be able to get away with planning for long-run possibilities by saying that things will be better. These days, however, blacks, and various other ethnic groups, refuse to wait that long.

A Change of Emphasis

When we raise the question as to the kind of young citizens we want to nurture in our school system today, we must do it in view of both a technological and a pluralistic society and with the knowledge that various ethnic groups are demanding that they participate in the process of determining what education should be and do.

Considering the negative results of racism and prejudice and the conflict that exists in the lives of learners who come from minority groups, what change of emphasis in securing curriculum materials is advisable to meet the current situation? Moreover, recognizing the demands that diverse ethnic groups in America make upon their members and the imperative need for some sort of national unity of a democratic kind, what is a relevant education?

There are two ways of looking at these related questions. From the viewpoint of the multi-ethnic learner, we need to determine what we mean by *relevance*. In education, the term implies that what is to be learned is perceived by the learner as having meaning in his present life and the expectation that it will have utility in future learning or coping situations. A meaningful relevant education, therefore, includes the skills necessary for one to cope with life. Moreover, this kind of education focuses on content that deals with specific ethnic group experiences in contemporary society and, therefore, with the problems of everyday existence.

This definition provides us with a basis for selecting the kinds of materials that will help children to cope with life the way it actually exists. To be sure, the multi-ethnic learner needs to know about his past and he needs to learn basic skills; but he should also know very early in his education precisely what it is he is going to have to face in everyday living. The implications of this principle in the selection of relevant curriculum material are deeply incisive and ought to be taken seriously by educators.

A change of emphasis needs also to be considered from the viewpoint of the ethnic diversity of the American people. Persons do not live as footloose individuals; they carry on as members of functional groups playing significant roles in society. Are there not, therefore, two foci of civic interest to be kept clearly in mind in the selection of multiethnic materials?

Persons have responsibilities to the self-cultures in which they live and move and have their beings, and at the same time they pay allegiance to an America which ethnically speaking is in the process of becoming a culture of cultures. It would be a mistake to disregard either of these orientations and loyalties in the education of youth.

Materials Must Be Functional

Without question, one of the most significant developments in education in the past decade in America has been the demand by black Americans for a more relevant curriculum and thus more relevant curriculum materials. These demands have altered irreversibly the images of what being black in America means and have pointed up the ironic ways in which our educational institution has compounded the myth that ours has been an open society.

The sense of black unity, pride, and destiny unleashed in the past half-decade carries with it both the threat and the promise of a new society potentially open for the first time. To single out the black here is not to ignore other ethnic groups in our society which have been in the past and remain today outcasts in one form or another. To focus on the black is rather to acknowledge what has been insisted upon and that, as a result, others excluded by our society are becoming more visible, among them American Indians, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans.

When one speculates upon the educational implications of social and technological developments in terms of a change of emphasis in the selection of curriculum materials, the possibilities are myriad. Nonetheless, at least two suggestions can be made in the identification and securing of relevant materials.

First, relevant curriculum materials for multi-ethnic learners must be functional. Materials used by teachers ought to serve three related functions as follows: (a) develop basic skills, (b) reflect the ethnicity of the learner, and (c) develop an appreciation for the humanities (art, drama, and music).

Although the purpose here is not to identify specific items, *Stevie*,[2] by artist John Steptoe, is a good example of a functional book. *Stevie* is a realistic story about black children by a young black author. It is directed at black children, for the author intended it to relate to what a black child would know. As such, it not only reflects the ethnicity of a particular group of learners but it also provides motivation to read. Of equal importance are the illustrations, which are full color paintings by the author. Mr. Steptoe has made his paintings functional by bringing them to the pages of a reader in which black children, who may never visit a museum, can relate to them and perhaps begin to develop an appreciation of art.

There are, of course, other books and materials too numerous to mention here that attempt to do the same thing with other groups. The point is that this author was well aware of the social developments of the day and the need to express in a functional way an art form. Thus he was able to provide a book that is relevant in terms of its meaning and utility for black children.

Multi-Ethnic Learners and Technology

A second suggestion is that those who have the task of identifying relevant materials for multi-ethnic learners must recognize that our schools exist in a technological culture. Parallel to the change of emphasis caused by the social revolutions of our day is the explosion of knowledge which stems from the technological strides of men. Since our schools exist in a technological age, it is difficult to see how they will be able to resist the invasion of machines.

For several reasons increased technology may be advantageous to the multi-ethnic learner. First, the use of machines and other devices offers the same kind of advantages to the schools that it offers business or industry. Their use offers laborsaving devices that frequently increase productivity, efficiency, and quality; and these are the very improvements that are being demanded in our schools.

More and more schools are experimenting with various technological approaches. In Ossining, New York, a public school in a low-income neighborhood has guaranteed parents of incoming kindergarten children that by next June, 98 percent of the children will be reading at a nationwide average level. The program stresses individualized instruction and relies heavily on instruments such as filmstrips, the tape recorder, and an audio flash card reader.

It has already been demonstrated in a variety of places, including New York City and Cleveland, that TV can be a most valuable tool in teaching multi-ethnic learners, particularly those who come from the inner city. The content of most of these programs is based on the conditions and on the lives of the learners whom the teachers are trying to reach. Channel 13 WNDT in New York City has, for example, an entire curriculum in black studies, which includes African Anthology and history of the Negro people.

In New York City a recent study was made of computer-assisted instruction (CAI) in 16 experimental schools involving 6,000 students. This study concluded systematically in nearly all groups that CAI students made greater gains in arithmetic achievement as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Tests than did the non-CAI students with whom they were compared. Since many schools in the inner city have great deficiencies in math and science areas, these results offer some hope for the future.

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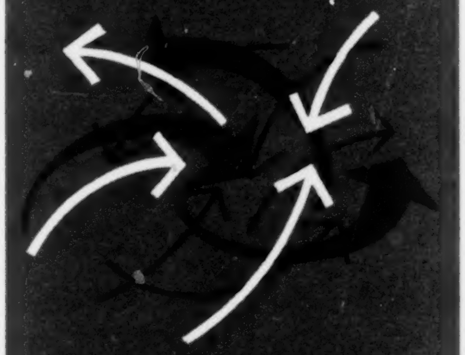
[2] John Steptoe. *Stevie*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969.

Obviously any introduction of technology demands more of a teacher in terms of education experiences and professional growth. Teachers will have to understand much more about learning theory and communication. And they will have to exercise sound judgment in terms of determining which educational goals can be reached through instructional technology and which can be reached by other methods.

Suggestions for the selection of relevant curriculum materials for multi-ethnic learners in a technological society presented in this article represent only an overview of a subject that is both old and new. The impact of a variety of social developments and technological advances in the face of accelerating changes has been stressed. While education has made tremendous progress in the past few years, we are, it seems, just at the beginning of a new era. In our present education system everything points toward increased emphasis on the everyday lives and living of multi-ethnic learners and the acquisition of knowledge through technology.

Yet we know too well that knowledge, if it cannot be used by a free mind, will neither be of benefit to the individual nor will it be of help to society. Surely at this point in time we have learned that democracy is based on differences rather than sameness. Only upon the acceptance of differences can we grow toward an awareness of the value of cultural diversity in a society which is only beginning to realize that it is pluralistic. □



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STUDENT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Let us begin with the premise that responsibility cannot be learned in the absence of freedom.

Let us help children to learn from our deeds as well as our words that freedom and justice can only exist for us if we protect these rights for others. We learn to honor these rights only if we are enabled to see the consequences of our acts. Clute, p. 145.

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What Do They Want?

(An Editorial)

NEIL P. ATKINS

ACCOUNTS of student picket lines, sit-ins, walkouts, takeovers, and other disruptive tactics have become familiar newspaper copy. Popular and professional periodicals are fat with observations, descriptions, and analyses of the growing restiveness among students at all levels. The central question is, "How should the school respond?"

On any school staff one can identify several positions on this question. Many teachers feel they should merely be observers of the scene; they urge detachment and neutrality. "The kids will grow out of it," they say.

Others argue that the staff should support the protest; maybe not on all issues and surely not the more uncouth manifestations, but they are sympathetic to many of the causes. They believe teachers should be right in there with the students.

Still others—perhaps a majority, I really don't know—want to be counted among the squelchers. "Clamp down on them," this group says. "Let's have none of this kooky nonsense around this school. Students must learn that they have to conform or take the consequences."

Then there are some faculty members who feel very strongly that what the students are rebelling against, needs to be rebelled against; and they believe the school should capitalize on the situation and lead the students in their efforts to reexamine the purposes of their educational experience.

The trouble is, of course, that these are all personal predilections based upon the philosophical, educational, and social orientation of each staff member. The school as an institution appears to be paralyzed by its own institutionalization. It seems to have no alternative to offer except the status quo, or some minor variation of the status quo. Thus the school is ripe for revolt, and repressive measures to keep the lid on will be futile in the long run. Yet, on the other hand, we keep telling each other, "We can't let the kids take over the schools completely."

If we ever needed competent and effective instructional leadership in the schools, now is most assuredly the time. The root of the problem is not that the teachers are militant, indifferent, and irresponsible; nor that the administrators are insensitive, incompetent, and weak-kneed; nor that the parents are apathetic, demoralized, and unreasonable; nor that the school boards are suspicious, meddling, and provincial. The root of the problem is that education, as it is presented today, is largely meaningless to the great majority of students. The school will not be able adequately to treat even the symptoms of student unrest unless *instructional,* as contrasted to purely *managerial,* leadership is exerted to get at the educational problems.

Chilling Messages

The question, "Why is school meaningless to so many students?" is easy to ask

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and hard to answer if we insist upon analysis rather than exhortation and on action rather than rhetoric. Unquestionably, the best data source is the student. It is fashionable these days to say we must listen to the students.

However, we lack the skills to analyze what we hear, to refrain from being put off by the choice of words used or the examples chosen or the attitude displayed by the students. Furthermore, we do not know how to read either aggressive or apathetic student behavior for the message it conveys; we react to the mode of expression only. We need to learn how to apply our professional knowledge and our maturity of judgment to these data in order to transform them into useful input for instructional planning.

So far the students have communicated at least three messages through their newfound modes of verbal and nonverbal behavior. The content of school programs is so removed from what is real that the student has given it up as a source of learning how to use what knowledge he is acquiring for any purpose he can understand. Through the accumulation of experience with adults in the school, the student has decided that school is not a place where he can get any help in understanding problems or making personal choices which have a pertinent and present meaning to him. By its institutional rituals and organizational behavior, the school demonstrates to the student that learning, when it takes place in school, is not only passive but pallid.

These are chilling messages. Nevertheless, the school is apparently losing its meaning for many students. Perhaps this is true because the school has faltered in acknowledging the need for personal interaction of both learners and teachers with ideas in the pursuit of ways to exercise intelligent action. School experience, at least as students see it, is failing to provide what they need most—*meaningful human encounter*. When they speak of participation, they are not referring to superficial, mickey mouse activity; they ask for continuing involvement in the decisions which affect not only the kind of learning they need, but also the kind of person they aspire to become.

Meaningful Human Encounter

What will happen if the school responds to these messages by viewing student disenchantment as a reason for reexamining instructional and institutional assumptions and the procedures which are based upon them?

From the meager evidence available, we can expect that in-service priorities will go to sensitizing staff members to the effect of their own behavior upon student attitude toward learning; student performance will replace content coverage as the center of attention; curriculum decisions will tend to be more collegial than unilateral; learning materials will become more diversified both in number and mode; organizational changes will follow instructional requirements rather than vice versa; institutional restraints will begin to become less rigid; and instruction will become more individualized.

At the same time, it also may be predicted that students will become less apathetic; indeed at first it may appear that unrest is on the rise, especially if unrest is equated with involvement, questioning, and increased student participation. Teachers will become more dissatisfied with the way the school is run; they will also become more dissatisfied with themselves. Principals and other administrators will become more harassed because parents will often declare that the school is deteriorating. The translation of that declaration is that the pattern is different from the one which existed when they were in school; therefore, the "standards" must be lower! Finally, the school board may lose courage and begin to withdraw support. At that point, instructional leadership undergoes the acid test; and, if the accumulation of experience is any indicator, that is when it often begins to wobble.

Nevertheless, in his role as change

agent, the instructional leader knows that anything but a superficial change in instruction, curriculum, or organization will create a chain reaction. Its effects will be felt throughout the school. One sure sign that a change is taking hold is that it begins to cause other dislocations. If these factors are not taken into account, predicted, provided for, and explained, then there will be the inevitable retreat to the familiar stance of reacting rather than responding to the message.

Students tell us that the quality of school life is repressive because they perceive it to be largely regulatory and inimical to penetration from the outside. What do they want? They seem to be calling for an open, sensitive school environment to which they can contribute, by their enthusiastic participation, a kind of resilience and immediacy. They want the school to become important to them because they need the help it is capable of giving them. They want to participate in making the school an important source of learning, although they see it as but one of many such sources. They want to be a party to the restructuring of the school environment, not to the rearranging of it.

Should the kind of ideas suggested here be seriously incorporated into the process of rethinking the functions of formal schooling, the result would fundamentally alter every facet of the school environment. It is not unreasonable to predict that as the students perceive the school to be responsive, they will perceive it to be enabling. That is all they want; and so do we. ☐

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Rights and Responsibilities of Students

MORREL J. CLUTE

Neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone.

THIS statement is taken from the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion on the now famous Gault decision of 1967. This opinion and others like it are forcing all of us in the adult establishment, and especially in the schools, to recognize a fundamental fact—*students are citizens and as citizens students have constitutional rights.*

More important, however, recent court decisions are helping school authorities to remember that no minimum age is specified for citizenship. These opinions are also making dramatically clear what should be the highest educational objective of all schools in the land—*the personal and internalized meaning of freedom and responsibility.*

> The Fourteenth Amendment, as now applied to the States, protects the citizen against the State itself and all of its creatures—Boards of Education not excepted. These have, of course, important, delicate, and highly discretionary functions, but none that they may not perform within the limits of the Bill of Rights. That they are educating the young for citizenship is reason for scrupulous protection of Constitutional freedoms of the individual, if we are not to strangle the free mind at its

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source and teach youth to count important principles of our government as mere platitudes.[1]

More and more frequently the courts are being asked to rule on the reasonableness of the limitations and restrictions which school authorities have placed upon the rights of students.

Personal Freedom

It has been assumed and supported by the courts that rules are made by reasonable men so as to maintain the discipline and order necessary when large numbers of students are brought together in one place for the purposes of education.

Under this interpretation, most court decisions have supported school authorities and school boards in their application of school rules which limit personal freedom. However, Seymour Schwartz, in his study of the constitutional rights of students, reports another major change in the attitude of the higher courts as reflected in current opinions.

This attitude, according to Schwartz, recognizes that school authorities must sometimes limit the constitutional rights of individual students; yet where this is the case something more than reasonableness is required. More and more often the courts are asking school authorities for proof that "a clear and present danger" exists and therefore justifies the restriction of precious rights.[2]

Court decisions remind us, too, that *education is a right* and that unauthorized expulsion of pupils from school deprives them of a civil right.

If the concept of liberty is to survive, the school must be the sustainer. The core of this concept is that each individual has a unique potential which must be respected and protected as long as his behavior does not deny to others the selfsame freedom he enjoys.

How would schools change if the number one, overall goal of education were that of helping the youth of this nation find personal meaning in freedom, liberty, and responsibility? Throughout American educational history there have been many individuals, groups, and organizations who have tried to make education not only democratic in its goal, but also in its methods.

However, the need to get on with the job, the problems of dealing with vast numbers, and false notions about efficiency have kept most schools authoritarian both in process and in product.

Student unrest, revolt, and demands to participate and make education relevant are without question evidences of the authoritarian process of public education.

To Learn Responsibility

If it is not too late, every elementary and secondary school in America should dedicate itself to the task of helping every boy and girl to learn the meaning of rights, respect, dignity, freedom, and responsibility.

Let us begin with the premise that *responsibility cannot be learned in the absence of freedom.*

Let us help children to learn from our deeds as well as our words that freedom and justice can only exist for us if we protect these rights for others. We learn to honor these rights only if we are enabled to see the consequences of our acts.

How do we help children to learn respect for privacy if we do not respect their privacy? Do we recognize a child's right to be heard? Do we help the student learn the meaning of "due process" by the way he is handled? Do we respect the student's right to be free from unreasonable search and seizure? Do we recognize the student's right to a feeling of dignity and equal worth? Can we explain and defend segregation in our schools on the basis of ability?

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[1] West Virginia State Board of Education *v.* Walter Barnette, 319 U.S. 633 (1943). This is the "flag salute" case.

[2] Seymour Schwartz. "The Civil Liberties of the American Public School Student: An Examination of Legal Aspects of Students' Rights and Philosophical Implications for Curriculum Development." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University, 1968.

There is now sound research evidence to support what teachers have always known intuitively—that experience is the base for making meaning from perceptions. We use past experience to make meaning from new clues. If a child has no experience with the use of freedom, he has no base for making judgments about civil liberties. If the child has never known adult behavior which reflected concern for his civil and constitutional rights, he cannot be expected to be concerned about the rights and welfare of others. This means that students must become partners with us in the process of education: partners, in that students must share in the vital decisions of school life—particularly in those decisions that affect his privacy and his precious constitutional rights. Equally important is the student's participation in the decisions which affect the rights of others.

The flagrant violation of an individual's right to speak and be heard, a condition that characterizes much of today's scene, might be dramatically different if the individuals involved in these violations had experienced in their growing-up years an honest concern for the sacred right of free speech.

Responsibility grows out of respect for one's self and an understanding of the meaning of personal freedom. Responsibility cannot develop before freedom is granted.

The salvation of a way of life which values personal rights depends upon providing opportunities for experiencing freedom in the schools. The challenge is ours and the time is short. Only if we treat students as citizens with rights can they learn to be citizens with responsibility. □

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Why Students Rebel

JACK R. FRYMIER

STUDENT protests are not new. Confrontation on a widespread scale, though, is fairly recent. Why is this so? Why are student protesting, anyway? Descriptions are in the news almost every day. Analyses and explanations, however, are more difficult to come by. This paper is an attempt to set forth one explanation of why young people are striking back at the institutions which are supposedly designed to serve their educational needs.

Educational institutions are social systems. Every social system is a human undertaking aimed at furthering or realizing human goals. Because people are involved, problems always arise. Human ventures are subject to human frailties simply because people are not perfect.

Jack R. Frymier, Professor and Chairman, Curriculum and Foundations Faculty, The Ohio State University, Columbus, and ASCD President-Elect, 1971-72

What Are the Options?

When a problem area comes into focus, what options are available to those who are involved? Five avenues of thought or action seem possible.

When a person or group of persons in an educational situation feels oppressed, denied, or restrained, the "problem" comes into view. Whatever the nature of the problem, the first option available to the individual who feels slighted or wronged is to request a change. He can go to "the powers that be" and complain, and thus attempt to persuade them to bring about change. If those who feel wronged or constrained are successful in their efforts to persuade the professor to change the grade or the chairman to grant the raise or the college to expand the program, then the problem is solved.

If he is unsuccessful in his efforts to persuade, then the person with the complaint can "go over the head" of the immediate authority and complain to those "above." That is, if the student cannot convince the professor to change his grade, he can request the department chairman to bring pressure to bear in hopes of getting the professor to change his mind. If the professor cannot convince his departmental chairman to grant a financial raise, he can appeal to the dean or even further up the academic "chain of command." If members of the Black Student Union cannot get the history department to offer a series of courses in "black history," they can go to the faculty senate or the academic vice president of the institution which is involved. Employing the traditional concept of administrative appeal, those who feel oppressed or denied can ask persons in positions of authority "over" those who refuse to bring about the change to use their superior "power" to "force" the others to change. Recycling the original request back through the entire authority chain, then, is the second option open to any person with a problem such as those that have been described.

If these efforts to persuade fail, what happens then? What options are available to persons who have been unsuccessful in their efforts to persuade "the powers that be" to change? Three choices seem evident: give in, get out, or revolt. To the person who feels that he has a legitimate concern, none of these alternatives is seen as a "positive" or "desirable" choice at all.

As long as "the powers that be"—be they instructors, administrators, janitors, secretaries, or counselors—are *reasonable* men, the system functions reasonably well. That is, if those who are in a position to give grades, grant raises, open closed courses, offer new courses, or whatnot are thoughtful, sensitive, honest, considerate men, then most problems can usually be "talked through" to a satisfactory solution. Through the give-and-take of dialogue and informal negotiations, persons who have honest differences of opinion can usually work out their problems in a mutually acceptable way. But if the person "in charge" (of the course or the department or the program) is a rigid, insensitive, inflexible, dogmatic human being, then the problem remains and may even be enlarged.

Back to the options which remain. If the original effort to *persuade* the individual in a position of authority to change is unsuccessful, and if recycling the persuasive effort through *appeal* further up the administrative line also fails, then the *give in, get out,* or *revolt* options confront the individual who feels that he has been wronged or constrained in a very direct way.

"Give in! Knuckle under! Do as you are told!" This choice is clearly available, and many persons in educational institutions accept this alternative as the lesser of evils. Because it requires submission on the part of the person who feels that he has been wronged, resentment and frustration generally accompany this option, if it is pursued.

"Get out! Withdraw! Leave!" This is another possibility which becomes evident if the persuasive efforts have failed. The individual may leave—physically or psychologically—and many admonitions along that line are sure to come his way. "If you don't like it here, why don't you leave?" "Either do as the authorities say, or get out and stay out!" The choice is exceptionally clear and some persons leave. Others "drop out" psychologically; they become apathetic, but stay. Such persons forgo the hardships of the moment for the diploma and what it seems to assure, but their self-respect and their integrity have been destroyed. "If you can't beat them, join them," they are apt to say.

Some students, however, revolt. Unwilling to accept the fact that their efforts to persuade have come to no avail, they will not give in or get out, so the only option left is to strike back and out and down. "The system must be changed," they say, but most people do not seem to know just what they mean.

Violence, rebellion, and destruction are terrible extremes. One can attempt to explain away such actions on the basis of an "international conspiracy" or a "wild group of young nihilists," but there is a more fundamental and even simpler explanation. The system is rigid. *The system is not capable of rational, deliberate change.* The system must be changed.

There is absolutely no doubt that some Marxists and some anarchists are participating in revolutionary efforts on college campuses and high school campuses today. That much is certain. One only has to walk through college bookstores, read underground newspapers, or listen to certain protesters to recognize the fact that some persons are espousing the Marxist-Leninist or Mao Tse-tung propaganda line. Such persons are very easy to find. Like all persons advocating the ideology of a closed society, the propositions which they advance and the monologue which they maintain are never their own. One can even predict what their next words will be, they hew so closely to the party line.

Such self-styled revolutionaries are dangerous on a campus or anywhere, not because they advocate a Communist or anarchist philosophy, but because they are articulate automatons who seem to but actually do not think. Such "true believers" are always dangerous, precisely because they are irrationally convinced of the justness of their cause.

But there are not many of these "hard core" revolutionaries on any campus or in any place where there is unrest in the United States today. The basic reason for the militancy is inherent in the fact that the system as a system is not capable of systematic, intelligent, compassionate change; thus the cry that "the system must be changed." To say it another way, *the system must be changed so that the system can cope with change.*[1]

To charge that the system is not theoretically capable of change, though, is a serious charge. Is that statement true? I think it is.

Change in a Social System

Education is a social system. Those social systems which have integrity—that is, those which are whole and concerned with truth—are characterized in particular ways which might be thought of as "democratic" or "effective" or both. There is a deliberate *distribution of authority according to function,* in other words, and a way of working which ensures that truth will out and the best answer will prevail. Educational systems are not characterized in either of these ways.

Planning, implementing, and evaluating are the primary functions which any social system must accomplish if it is to realize the human objectives which it seeks to attain. Those social systems which have integrity and are fully functioning are characterized by the fact that each of the functions outlined above is accomplished by a different group which has authority. Further, the evaluative function is that point at which both continuity and change can be assured.

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[1] These ideas are developed more fully in: Jack R. Frymier. *Fostering Educational Change.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969.

At times some systems work better than others, that much is sure, and at times any system functions more effectively or less effectively than it did before. Even so, the evaluative function is the key. Perhaps a closer look at the system as a functioning whole will show why this is so.

The planning, conceptualizing, thinking-through, policy-making phase of education is typically accomplished by the governing board. It is here that general directions and broad policies for the system are described. In government this is where the laws are made. In industry this is where the decision to produce a particular product or service is made. Every social system has a planning, direction-setting, conceptualizing function which must be performed.

The accomplishing, implementing, doing phase of the educational system is a function which the professionals perform. Converting policies into programs and concepts into organizational and methodological procedures, the professional staff of any educational system operationalizes the plans which the governing board sets forth. In government this function is accomplished by the executive branch. In industry the policies established by the board of directors are converted into products or services to be sold by management and workers. Cars are manufactured. Coal is mined. Food is sold.

The Evaluative Function

The evaluative function in education represents a system void. There is no formally established group with influence which accomplishes the assessing role. In government the evaluative function is accomplished by the judiciary. The courts weigh and consider and judge. "Are the laws which the legislature made constitutional?" "Are the actions of the executive branch appropriate and legal in a constitutional way?" In industry the buying public evaluates the product or service when it goes on sale. "Is it made well?" "Will it do what I want it to do?" "Should I buy it—yes or no?"

Those social systems which are fully functioning use evaluative data as corrective feedback to improve. When evaluations occur, new information is generated which did not exist before. If the buying public refuses to buy a particular product or service (in other words, if their evaluation results in negative action), what they do is create new knowledge which tells those who planned or those who produced that something about their efforts went wrong. Perhaps the idea (for example, the plans to produce a car with certain characteristics, with certain dimensions, in a given price range, etc.) was inappropriate or wrong, or perhaps it was not operationalized in a satisfactory way (for example, the seams were not welded adequately, the motor did not run efficiently, etc.), or both. On the other hand, if the evaluations are positive and the people buy, that also creates new knowledge that did not exist before (for example, the price range is right, the production line is doing a superb assembly job, the motor functions powerfully in a very efficient way), and the system uses the feedback as a basis for keeping the operation satisfactorily and effectively under way.

The evaluative function, then, is the precise point at which new information is made available to enable the system to maintain its operation or to improve. Those social systems which are both durable and responsive—self-perpetuating, but with the capacity to change—reflect three different but related factors when the evaluative function is accomplished: *generation of new information, evaluation by a group with authority of its own,* and *a criterion against which to judge which is both accepted and clear*. When these factors are in evidence, then the evaluative function has the theoretical power to enable the system both to continue and to change.

The existence of the judiciary as a separate branch of the government, for example, illustrates the existence of an evaluative group. When the courts make decisions, they create new information which did not exist before. These decisions also have power. The rest of the system, in other words, pays attention to the feedback. Because there is a Constitution which clarifies the purposes and which has been ratified, the reality of an articulated and accepted criterion is also involved. In economics the same thing is true. One group plans. Another produces. And the buying public judges the plans and the product or service in an evaluative way. Furthermore, the judgments of the buying public have power. The producers and the planners have to pay attention to what the buyers say. And the criterion of profit is both conspicuous and accepted by all parties involved.

In education the system is otherwise. There is neither a formal nor an informal group which functions as a part of the system to accomplish the evaluative role. There is no "third party" which is "objective" and which has authority to whom those who feel constrained or denied can turn. They can only go back up the same "legal line" which created the circumstances out of which the problem grew in the first place. Further, when evaluations are made, there is no insistence within the system that they be utilized. New data may become available as a result of evaluative efforts, but there are no clearly stated objectives which either have been ratified or are so widely understood as to have impact. Therefore, when evaluations do take place, they may be attended to or they may be completely ignored. It is in this sense that the educational system as presently conceived is largely incapable of self-renewal and rational change.

Changing the System

What might be done? Several things might be attempted, but the system must certainly be changed. Changing the people has been often advocated. Changing the system is another thing. Unless the system itself is changed, it will not be capable of thoughtful, deliberate educational change.

What is needed, of course, is some kind of evaluative mechanism which is sufficiently sensitive to the problems and concerns of those who are involved that it will be in a position to respond. However, this group must have adequate authority of its own. It dare not be a part of the hierarchy, and there must be a deliberate effort to distribute authority according to function rather than to consolidate authority. The "top-down" concept must be changed.

One cannot portray our concept of government in a "top-down" way. The legislative, the executive, and the judicial are separate and equal branches of the government. It is possible to show a line and staff arrangement of each of the three branches separately, but one branch of government cannot be described as "above" the others in a hierarchical way. Each has a function and an authority of its own.

In education, though, the policy makers and implementers are typically thought of and described in linear ways: governing boards are at the "top" and those who implement are "below." There is no separate group which has authority in the evaluative realm, either. That conceptual void has to be filled with a newly devised group, and that group must be granted the authority to accomplish the evaluative role.

Some universities have inaugurated the ombudsman idea, for example, as an effort to fill that theoretical void. Others have attempted to involve students more extensively in the formal decision-making structure of the university in order to assure them that their voice and their concerns would be heard. Such steps will not solve the problem, though they are definitely appropriate directions in which to go.

Expanding involvement is very important, but guaranteeing participation is no assurance that the evaluative function will be adequately performed. Likewise the ombudsman idea is most certainly sound, but in those countries where the ombudsman functions most effectively,[2] there already exists a fully-developed judicial system which accomplishes the basic evaluative role. Presuming that the ombudsman can satisfactorily perform all of the basic evaluative functions plus the "extra" evaluative refinements which he traditionally accomplishes is probably not reasonable. This is not meant to suggest that the ombudsman idea is not an important one—it is. Yet we dare not expect one man to accomplish on an "extra" basis (usually in addition to certain other duties) that which probably ought to be attended to by a group of persons working full-time in an evaluative way.

The basic issue, of course, is the governance structure of the educational system. Can it be satisfactorily accomplished "top-down"? Will it work effectively if evaluations are accomplished by the same persons who have responsibilities for policy-making and implementing roles? I think not. The system must be changed.

Young people all over the world have been sending the adult community messages in many ways. Their ideas are not all sound. Their behavior is certainly not always appropriate or defensible at all. And the fact that some persons flout the law, destroy property, and violate the integrity of other persons is certainly not to be condoned. Such behavior is unacceptable and must be dealt with in legal but humane ways.

Even so, the complaints are real. The system is rigid. It is not capable of rational, deliberate change. "Good" men in the system can do a lot to make the system function reasonably well, but any system which requires "good men" to make it go is also a system which will allow a scalawag or an autocrat to wreak havoc and behave in arbitrary, obstinate ways. That is the system we have today, and that system must be changed. We must devise evaluative mechanisms which are sufficiently sensitive but fully responsive to the dynamic state of education. We must agree upon the purposes of education, and see to it that assessments and judgments are made according to those terms of purpose.

Schools do not exist to serve taxpayers' needs. Neither do they exist to serve administrators' or teachers' needs. Schools exist to help young people learn. Students are rebelling, but many of their complaints are unquestionably real.

Those who work in education have a problem. Since problems are their stock-in-trade, it seems reasonable to expect that they should apply the power of intelligence to the business of solving this particular problem. Let's hope they will. Repressive tendencies abound. We do not need educational institutions which are less free, but rather those which are more free. Progress always starts with criticism. Many persons are complaining now. "The system must be changed," they say. The governance structure of the educational system is one place to begin. ☐

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[2] Walter Gellhorn. *Ombudsmen and Others; Citizens' Protectors in Nine Countries.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967.

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The Student Voice: A New Force

EDWARD W. NAJAM, JR.

STUDENTS have always been an unruly group, and universities have traditionally been centers of ferment. Yet never before has there been anything comparable to the current student rebellion. Considerable student thought and energy are being focused on intense political activity aimed at both the campus and greater society. The pulse of a generation of youth can be measured by this activity, which is challenging the existing order from campus social restrictions and course content to foreign policy and racial discrimination.

There is little public support for student complaints about the state of higher education and the state of society, but students in turn have little faith in public opinion anyway. Student unrest has developed from a sense of futility, a feeling that present institutions and ways of conducting the public business are frequently inadequate, insensitive, and hypocritical.

Student Unrest a Reality

The student movement is a real phenomenon in the minds and attitudes of many students, though it is most closely identified with an active minority. This fact in itself, that only a minority appears to be involved, is for some people enough to discount the validity of student protest. Many ask what has happened to "the great majority of Americans—the forgotten Americans—the non-shouters, the non-demonstrators." This question with its intended implications is historically gratuitous, for it is always the minority which shapes the course of events.

Large numbers of intelligent, critical, and articulate youth are concentrated on the campus, where they find easy communication with their peers and ready reinforcement for their ideas. And not having yet assumed the burdens and responsibilities of marriage, family, and occupation, nor having been debilitated by economic security, they have the opportunity to make their feelings known.

The campus is, thus, no longer a playground for practice oratory but rather a real political arena. The stakes are high because the university is on trial as society's institution most immediately at hand. The merits of student power may be debatable, but that a kind of student power does exist and is being exercised is not debatable. It is a very real thing. Students have developed a voice apart from the rest of the academic community.

Many critics have tended to lump all students together, to attach one student-inspired incident to another, and to condemn them all. Yet it is essential that the distinction be made between those ideologically motivated students who seek to dismember our institutions and the much larger group of moderate students who view the shortcomings of our universities and society with less impatience but with genuine concern. However, the moderate students' commit-

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ment to the present order of things is tenuous, for they appreciate the message of the radicals if not their excesses. The central problem on today's campus is for the university to distinguish the moderates from the radicals.

The Student and Society

The student movement has implications far beyond institutions of higher learning. It was, of course, initially associated with the civil rights movement, but not until Vietnam emerged as the principal national issue did campus protest become a common occurrence. Large numbers of students, exposed to the history and political realities of Southeast Asia and acquainted with the problems of developing nations, have not subscribed to the blind patriotism that has characterized much of the general public. Though the war itself provided a stimulus for widespread student activity, it also served to dislodge other complaints about the present social order.

Students are conscious that though they enjoy the fruits of affluence, America has not honored its promise to all its people, that millions of poor Americans, black and white, are not sharing in the nation's wealth, that many black Americans are still struggling for the most basic kind of human dignity. Thus students are not objecting to affluence itself but to the way it is being handled both domestically and in our foreign relations. They are equally concerned, perhaps more concerned, about a society, a social system in which the individual is losing his sense of identity in a great philosophy of consensus.

The university is no longer an isolated community of scholars; it is no longer immune from the society which supports it and which it serves. The day is over when men of prominence would "retire" to a university presidency. A partial explanation for this is that higher education is no longer a luxury within the reach of only an intellectual elite, but on the contrary a necessity for increasing numbers. Mass higher education has become an American ideal, and consequently the university has been inundated with hordes of youth for whom a degree is the ticket to success in middle class society, a society, ironically, in which they are not even sure they want to participate.

The university has more visibly become an agent of the status quo which trains rather than educates students in order to prepare them for assimiliation into society at some point. It has, by design, cooperated with business and government and thereby compromised its claim to political immunity. The university is, therefore, under attack for its readiness to bend to the will and to the standards of greater society and for its complicity with the established order.

Institutional Reform

Quite apart from student objections to the university's subservience to conditions outside the campus is a concern for the internal operations of the university itself. The central issue is one of democracy and the distribution of power. The drive for student power is not, contrary to popular contention, an attempt to establish total control over the university, but rather to redistribute power within the university. It is an attempt to redefine the legitimate scope of university authority in the nonacademic realm and to provide for a meaningful student role in the academic councils of the institution. Students are challenging the authoritarian structure of higher education which has long relegated them to a position of second-class citizenship within the academic community.

A great deal of time has been wasted and attention devoted to disputing nonacademic student-life regulations and their enforcement. It should be said here that, in response to considerable student pressure, the universities are increasingly abandoning their ludicrous babysitting function and that students will in time have absolute control over the conduct of their personal lives. Students have resented being treated differently from their counterparts who are working or otherwise pursuing careers, living independently, and enjoying freedom of movement and action. Unfortunately, the thrust for this kind of extracurricular freedom has obscured the issue and detracted from the main drive for institutional reform.

Though the student movement is many-faceted, at the very heart of it is an assault on the academic establishment itself, principally on the feudal authority of the faculty. Though students have frequently directed their attack against administrators and trustees, they are learning that it is really the faculty which holds the power over teaching and curriculum. And though the faculty is generally liberal in its politics, it becomes conservative in matters of institutional reform.

After the Second World War, education became a prerequisite for successful participation in the affluent society, and those who could provide it were the hitherto inconspicuous college and university professors. At a time when enrollments were increasing rapidly, emphasis shifted even more strongly from teaching to research, and faculties in response have even more emphasized that part of academic endeavor which has its rewards, namely, research and its companion, publication. The opportunity to do research has become not only an academic right but a professional compulsion.

This attitude has redounded to the benefit of the graduate schools, which are by their very nature research-oriented. Dedication to one's discipline is the order of the day. The worth of the faculty is not measured in terms of what the faculty does for its students but in terms of its value in the academic marketplace. This emphasis on professionalism, for all its value, has prompted the amateurs of the academic world, the undergraduates, to rebel. In the confusion, the undergraduate has lost faith in his faculty; he questions course offerings and their relevance to his world. Yet he does not, in the process, aim to destroy the abiding values of those courses in the liberal, humanistic tradition.

Led by those students who are genuinely bored in the classroom, this student generation has undertaken to challenge the state of undergraduate higher education. To be sure, many students are satisfied with the treatment they are getting and leave college with a degree and with no complaints. But those who have spotted the problems are explaining them to their less perceptive peers, who vaguely sensed them anyway.

Nevertheless, student power is still largely illegitimate, that is, it is exercised *de facto*. Students are now seeking to formalize student participation in all aspects of university life so as to effect control over their personal lives and to have real rather than token influence in the development of course content and curriculum.

University Response

The student drive as it relates directly to the universities should be beneficial; in any case it cannot be ignored. American institutions of higher learning have a special responsibility to capture this intense feeling among the young, to refine it, to temper it, and to direct it toward meaningful ends.

American colleges and universities must submit to a rigorous self-examination; the student movement will not subside until they do. The university is a very special institution in a free society and, to the extent that it prostitutes its purposes and its intellectual resources to established economic and political institutions, it has failed in its mission.

The student movement is much more than a drive for institutional reform; it is a rebirth of humanism, of concern for the individual as a person, and of respect for diversity and pluralism. All of these qualities are consistent with our democratic tradition and are values to which the university should, by its very nature, be dedicated. □

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Student and Administration Crises

MARK A. CHESLER

DISRUPTION and unrest in secondary schools have roots deep within the fabric of our society and educational systems. The major problems of the American society are reflected in its schools, and in the lives of its young people. Teen-agers are living with the pressure of an unpopular war and draft, with the pain of poverty and the guilt of affluence, with racism's mutual corrosion of black and white people, and with the constraining effects of adult-run bureaucracies. Young people are naturally restive, with their need for change, for increased liberty, and with the society's frequent estrangement from its own young people.

Student Concerns

Our schools are a vulnerable and accessible focus for some of these disaffections; they also heighten and trigger such issues in particularly volatile ways. Student concerns with society and school are always present, but they gain broad public attention when expressed in ways that disrupt orderly school processes. Student frustrations and anger then create "crises" for school administrators. Any attempt to understand such "administrative crises" must begin with the crises that students feel they face daily, crises that are perpetrated or exacerbated by the character of their educational experience. Among the most generic and potent "student crises" in school are the following:

1. Youngsters have a variety of complaints about the *high school curriculum.* Much of the curriculum is seen as irrelevant for students not going to college; they point out that it does not help them prepare for the noncollege job market. In more affluent suburban schools, many youngsters argue that college preparation courses do not prepare them for what is likely to happen in college. Partly this results from an overemphasis on the romantic myths of scholarship and of academic life, but also the nonprovocative and nonstimulating character of most college preparatory courses.

2. Many students resent what they feel are archaic and traditional forms of *classroom instruction,* where teachers lecture and students are expected to listen docilely. In some schools, concern over the retention and reward of innovative or "good" teachers and negative reactions to "bad" teachers has become a focus of students' collective attention.

3. The reliance upon *teacher and administrator control* over student behavior generates the high number of rules and regulations by which the school day is organized. It is not an uncommon experience for students who wish to go to the bathroom during class to be required to raise their hands and announce their need to the teacher and their peers. Some students undoubtedly would rather suffer quietly than deal with their need in public. Students who feel the school should not exercise so much control over their personal behavior offer an array of perceived violations of good judicial process and civil liberties by adult school authorities, including personal clothing and locker room searches, dress and hair regulations, arbitrary punishments without appeal, premature judgments of guilt without evidence or proof, etc. Censorship of student newspapers and other controls on student political activi-

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ties, or the farces of obedient student councils, are especially provocative reminders of students' low status and political impotence.

4. In many schools students argue that *teachers and administrators do not behave in courteous and respectful ways* toward them. This is the reverse of teachers' common complaint that their students often are defiant and disrespectful toward them. Instructional and interpersonal relationships characterized by educators' condescension and paternalism signify adults' disinterest in reciprocal human contact with their students. Professional norms against teacher-student "fraternization" increase the interpersonal distance and mistrust between these two groups. One principal reported that he usually called in a group of 12 or 15 students or went into a classroom when he was about to administer a paddling to a male student. Such circumstances, he argued, made the humiliation he was about to apply much clearer and thus a more effective disciplinary device. However, they also signify his low level of concern for students' dignity or pride.

5. Students' concerns about *racism* focus upon disciplinary or instructional behavior which appears to unjustly single out blacks for differential treatment. A complete lack of, or minimal number of, black teachers, counselors, clubs, and books, and a failure to honor black cultural and political heroes are further student rationales for labeling a school as racist. Specific examples of these concerns arise in connection with the reluctance of many schools to honor the anniversaries of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., or Malcolm X. The lack of courses directly relevant to black experience in America, and the distortion of this experience in "white-oriented" texts and courses, are sources of much student pain and alienation. Whether or not the school makes a uniquely racist contribution to the quality of student life, it is clear that few schools have attempted to overcome the vestiges of societal racism that may be present among the ranks of students, teachers, administrators, service personnel, and within the curriculum itself.

6. In a similar vein, some students are concerned deeply with their schools' apparent *disregard for or ignorance of serious social ills.* Youngsters wrestling with problems of the draft, and with their awareness of social issues such as poverty, morality, and powerlessness, constantly seek the wisdom and guidance of their respected elders. The lack of institutional recognition of such issues, let alone their curricular treatment, is a source of much student guilt and discontent. When their elders, and their educational institutions, appear disinterested or powerless in the face of such issues, youth are naturally confused, frustrated, and angry.

7. A final tragedy is that many *teachers and administrators who would and should object to such violations of educational principles through common sense and even decency do not.* Some are cowed by their colleagues and by expectations of administrator or parental reaction, others are coerced by a professional fraternity into maintaining a code of silence. An educator who protests too strongly about current "student crises" risks being identified "with the kids," a stigma injurious to good peer relations and professional security. Students often perceive such noninvolvement as evidence of adult hypocrisy and a lack of commitment to the ideas and ideals of a better world. The result is a loss of trust in the persons and institutions established for the welfare and guidance of the young. Without trust, there is only the despair of conformity or apathy and the revolutionary power of anger and desperate hope.

The existence of these conditions constitutes daily and continuing crises in the lives of students attending secondary schools. The expression of such grievances and concerns in protests and disruption creates tremendous student, faculty, and community pressure on school administrators. Some creative responses to these pressures and resultant "administration crises" are suggested below.

Immediate Alternatives in Crisis

Many school administrators see school disruption as a crisis that bodes ill for the educational institution, for the lives of youngsters, and for their own careers. It is our own perspective that these conflicts and crises often may represent opportunities for educators to take a good hard look at themselves, to reexamine their goals, and to use student pressure to develop new and exciting ways of educating youngsters.

Recent events make it clear that repression and suppression, or denial and escape, do not respond to key educational issues at stake in school crises; they do not even offer the hope of rapid de-escalation of tension and conflict.

It is the context of seeing disruption as an opportunity for change, and of seeing change as vital, that permits more creative responses to school crises.

Working with several school administrators has indicated some meaningful and immediate responses to school crises that may reduce the level of overt conflict. In the midst of crisis one can often establish *formal mechanisms for social interaction* that crosscut prior lines of status distinction in the school; in this way students and teachers or different social classes and races can be put into immediate interaction around school issues.

A second device is the immediate establishment of a *grievance handling procedure* that has some teeth to it. It is not sufficient to establish a sounding board or to call for administrators to "listen" to students; what is required is a multistatus group that can respond to, and will seek out, student, teacher, and community grievances. A grievance procedure that does not have independent enforcement power, or access to enforcement from other powers in the system, is not worth establishing. Rather, it will be seen by students as another source of administrative deception and control.

Students often complain that teachers and administrators who do not respect them do not listen to any grievance or argument. Many students say that demonstrations and protests have erupted because their other efforts to get administrators and teachers to listen to their concerns and demands were failures.

A relevant mechanism that could be implemented in the midst of crisis is a pattern of *formal negotiation* between conflicting parties. Talk that quickly leads to action is required; for in the long run, change is the only relevant agenda item. Harried school administrators and students will also need to *understand the roots of their own anger and defense* and to gain positive and productive control and direction over these feelings. Our work during the past year is replete with examples of school administrators who escalated and provoked high levels of conflict because of their own righteous indignation, defensiveness, despair, or personal pain and affront. One can sympathize with all of these feelings and yet recognize their deleterious effect upon any effort to negotiate and restore order.

The above tactics may be immediately invented or implemented to reduce the level of conflict to proportions that permit experimentation with more powerful change strategies. Prompt and open responses to student concerns, and the implementation of various grievance handling systems or conflict mediating operations, will help deal with the problems of escalation, per se. However, such tactics do not deal with the basic conditions underlying crisis: unsolved social problems, curriculum and instructional irrelevance or incompetence, interpersonal control or disrespect, and the racism which many youngsters feel permeate their lives in school. Only immediate and constant attention to the reformation of our schools will alter these basic conditions; and only such alteration will, in the long run, bring an end to school disruption and progress toward quality education.

Middle-Range Strategies for Change

One of the useful strategies that deal with several of the issues just raised is the *decentralization of school decision making.*

Specifically, this means the inclusion of students and members of the community in vital educational decisions: recruitment, evaluation, promotion, and separation of teachers; revision of curriculum and textbooks; autonomous student organization and management of extracurricular activities such as newspapers, clubs, honorary offices, and events.

It is not farfetched to plan now for the inclusion of elected student representatives on all local and regional school boards and school governing agencies. Students often have an expertise that is to be valued and can be used. Moreover, students often constitute a special interest group, and may best be able to argue their own cases.

The problems of adult-student relationships require *restructuring of the school* so that students and teachers can spend more time in personal conversation and collaboration with one another, whether or not this appears to contribute directly to the transmittal of academic material. The relaxation of teachers' custodial concerns, and the replacement of their control by caring and by patterns of mutual student-teacher respect, is of the highest priority. Adult fears that such "permissiveness" and "invitations to anarchy" will result in their being taken advantage of may or may not be real; in any event such fears cannot be dealt with effectively by avoiding experimentation.

Clearly a high priority must be placed on *teacher education efforts.* Yet having well-prepared teachers does not necessarily lead to a healthful school environment. Well-prepared teachers who must operate within the traditional model of the classroom and professional role established in most schools are not likely to be very innovative.

We must develop *new professional role structures* that permit teachers to be learners and students to be teachers; that provide teachers with the time and help to think, plan, share, prepare, and evaluate their activity in meaningful ways; that permit administrators to be true educational leaders; and that allow and encourage students to be inquiring, independent, relaxed learners. This may require changing the manner in which time is used during the school day, shortening the school week, providing more flexibility in the curriculum, generating new curricula, and providing much more substantial released time.

The solution of recurring and escalating school problems requires nothing less than a continuing collaboration of all parties in the school and community. Continuing inquiry into school problems and controversial local issues, and joint efforts to implement new ways of working in the school, call for the formal establishment of a variety of *cross-status, school-community problem-solving teams.* These teams can update and maintain the degree of concern and interest in school change that, at this point, is created by incidents of protest and disruption.

It is essential that the *curriculum* itself be renewed in ways that place less stress on the quantity of time spent being exposed to various materials and more emphasis on students' ability to understand and use the material. This clearly requires a curriculum that is adaptive and flexible enough to be used in different ways by different schools, and in different ways by different students. Although a variety of exciting curriculum development efforts can be noted in schools across this country, such curricula are being invented at a rate far exceeding their implementation. Further, they are being implemented with haste far more often than with the kind of thoughtful preparation that may guarantee success. New curricula are vital; yet new curricula that require and support new professional role structures, new patterns of student involvement in and out of school, and collaborative preparation and joint decision making are much more imperative.

The combined issues of *trust and power* represent themes that cut across the grievances presented earlier and can suggest other strategies for responding to school crises. Many young people have lost trust in the desire or ability of adults and of school people to serve their interests and needs. Without such faith, youth must seek the power to control their own integrity and growth. Attempts to rebuild our schools must focus on the redevelopment of educators' practical and moral trustworthiness, and on youngsters' willingness to trust in them.

Curriculum changes, new patterns of communication and interpersonal relations, better economic and intellectual payoff, and administration of the school and classroom in the true interests of students, all point in the direction of increased trust. Changes must also recognize and support the sharing of legitimate and real power among all members of the educational system, and especially with students. Student control of school social arrangements, individualized learning systems, and student participation in curricular, instructional, and personnel decisions increase students' power to affect their own educational careers. Adults' willingness and skills in helping to create and live with new forms of trust and power will be key determinants of our schools' ability to avoid destructive actions and to create educational environments. □

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Can the Student Participate in His Own Destiny?

JAMES E. HOUSE

"I'm only a U.S. citizen enjoying my rights, until I come to school."[1]

EDUCATORS have been "foot dragging" and divided in rendering an opinion about the ability of students to participate in determining their own destiny. Students have sensed this dividedness and confusion, and have proceeded to seek answers to the question for themselves. Their answers have been manifested in student protest and demonstrations.

Students Want To Participate

Last year, more than 2,000 high schools across the nation experienced walkouts, sit-ins, boycotts, or other means of student expression in an attempt to prove that they are important and want to participate. A careful analysis of the protest movement would indicate that many of the demands and concerns of students are indeed legitimate, and would suggest that a complete evaluation of how we do business with youngsters in school is needed. In fact, to deny a student the right to participate in his own destiny is an infringement of his constitutional rights, as described in the Fourteenth Amendment and the Bill of Rights, and reflected in a growing body of

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[1] This quote, and others which appear not documented, were extracted from a doctoral dissertation prepared by the writer. These were responses by ninth- and twelfth-grade pupils to a survey about participation.

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court opinions. Our judicial system has called for a halt to the flagrant abuse of student rights in school.

Clute advocates that:

> Students must become partners with us in the process of their education: partners, in that students must share in the vital decisions of school life—particularly in those decisions that affect his privacy and his precious constitutional rights. Equally important is the student's participation in the decisions which affect the rights of others. . . . Responsibility grows out of respect for one's self and an understanding of the meaning of personal freedom. *Responsibility cannot develop before freedom is granted.*[2] (Italics added.)

"I think the students should be consulted more about the problems we are having. Just think, we might be able to come up with something."

One very simple, but fruitful, way of resolving some of the problems in the educational arena is merely to seek answers from our clients—the students. Folks in the business world spend millions of dollars annually to gather consumer opinions about their products. New directions are charted as a result of these findings. Research tells us that students want to be consulted as "consumers" of our educational "wares."

In a recent study conducted for *Life*[3] magazine, more than half of the students polled in 100 schools across the nation revealed that they were unhappy with their limited participation in school policy making. Moreover, more than 60 percent of the same students wanted more say about making rules under which they must live, and a greater share of involvement in making curriculum decisions. The issue of decision making is relevant for pupils, as 54 percent labeled it "very important."

This student poll compares very favorably with one conducted by the writer for a dissertation, in which more than 60 percent of the pupils revealed that in their schools, pupils really wanted to decide what happened to them. Only 30 percent of the pupils in the same survey felt that they "usually" or "always" had a chance to participate in decision making on policies and rules under which they must live.[4] The conflict between students and adults is crystallized, as described in the *Life* poll, where only 20 percent of the parents and 35 percent of the teachers felt that students should have more participation in policy making. Only a mere quarter of the adults polled placed student participation under the "very important" category as compared with 54 percent of the pupils. This accounts, in part, for the generation gap that exists, hence student unrest.

Ingredients for Participation

"The students themselves should organize and use their group power to attain the goals they feel are necessary, and truly run their own school and get rid of the toy government, the student council."

Some secondary schools value student participation, and every effort is made to have this participation become a significant part of the educational process. How do these schools differ from other schools? One quick observation of these forward-looking secondary schools is that you will find an open communication link to help students participate in a significant way in their school operation.

Teachers and administrators in these schools seek student opinion and use this to strengthen the fibers of togetherness. Students are trusted and encouraged to be different, because being different is one way of testing what one really believes. Decision making is seen as a cooperative venture by all who are affected by the decision. An open communication link in the secondary schools provides for a grievance procedure—a system of redress. This procedure is known by all students in school; it shows no favorites. We know that where communication is missing, it always breeds suspicion and a lack of trust.

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[2] Morrel J. Clute. "Rights and Responsibilities of Students." *Educational Leadership* 26 (3): 242; December 1968.

[3] "What People Think About Their High Schools." *Life* 66 (19): 24-25; May 16, 1969.

[4] James E. House. "A Study of Innovative Youth Involvement Activities in Selected Secondary Schools in Wayne County, Michigan." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation. Detroit: Wayne State University, 1969.

In spite of the difficulty in establishing a workable communication link, some secondary schools have initiated student-faculty-parent advisory councils that are concerned with such problems as discipline, classroom conditions, and human relations. One superintendent in an Ohio school district invites student representatives to his office to talk and listen to one another on a regular basis. Still other schools have appointed an ombudsman, have conducted open forums, and are sharing more power with the student council. Communication is beautiful, but tough to accomplish.

"The students have great ideas about rules and regulations, they just don't have a chance to express them."

A second glance at these forward-looking schools would reveal the existence of human rules and regulations. If rules and regulations are to be more acceptable and workable, students must have a chance to help set the regulations. Rules and regulations must not be viewed as a means of keeping people in line, so that undesirables can be suspended when they do not toe the mark.

Every effort would be made to eliminate those regulations that may be classified as annoyances, such as hall passes and permission to go to the rest rooms. Self-discipline would be the goal of every student, if the professional staff would help him to achieve this goal. Students would, in fact, determine regulations such as the length of hair, wearing apparel, and beards, and would set up their own discipline procedures.

Educators are rightfully proud of the Freedom School being operated in Washington, D.C., by students. Not only do students determine the rules under which they must live, they also select teachers, develop the curriculum, and make other important decisions.

"I don't think the school faculty listens very much to our student council. I think our student council should have some say in our curriculum."

Another characteristic of forward-looking schools is an exciting and relevant curriculum. It would show evidence of being responsive to the current sociological problems on the educational scene. Students do not understand why they cannot deal with problems related to poverty, racism, black studies, sex, drugs, and the Vietnam war. Instead of placing emphasis in these areas, educators have been forced to revise the academic disciplines (science, math, foreign languages), and make them tougher. This process has placed a great deal of pressure on students to succeed. Nonclass activities, in which many children find a sense of accomplishment, would be an important part of the curricular experience. Such activities would not be viewed as something tacked on, after the fact.

In some schools, pupils are reshaping the curriculum by calling for the elimination of the track system that segregates pupils. Still others encourage pupils to teach courses without credit, to volunteer for essential community services, to attend department meetings as advisors, to suggest course content for black studies, and to share the spotlight with teachers on curriculum advisory councils.

Teachers and administrators in one Maryland school eliminated the regular schedule for a two-week period. A student-recommended curriculum was initiated which included a visit to Congress, listening to jazz music, working with deprived children, debating the war, and a broad spectrum of exciting educational experiences. The curriculum can be relevant.

"The teacher should not look to the bright kids all the time. The other kids feel hurt and not wanted."

A final ingredient that would be found in these forward-looking schools would be an understanding and knowledgeable teacher—a teacher who felt comfortable with pupils helping to run the class. Pupils do not like to sit still and listen to teachers talk all the time. When students have a voice in decision making they are more eager to raise questions, explore options, and make value judgments about issues for the love and satisfaction of it all.

If the class engages only in oral discussion and answers the questions at the end of each chapter, then something is gravely missing in the educative process. Students know what activities "turn them on"; teachers need only to ask.

In the classroom, there are factors related to grading practices, student-teacher planning, teaching methods, and the future-oriented curriculum that tend to prohibit pupil participation. A grading practice in the classroom that is used as a weapon, rather than an effort to evaluate pupils in terms of their own accomplishments, would be rejected. Pressure to participate solely for the sake of a grade has a tendency to reduce meaningful participation.

Teachers can, most of all, help pupils to participate in their own destiny by helping them to acquire a feeling of dignity and worth. No student in the classroom should feel belittled. Each pupil must have a feeling that he is the most important person in the classroom. His teacher can help him feel wanted and important, thereby giving him the skills he needs for determining his own destiny in school.

Some teachers are using students as aides, assistants, tutors, evaluators of teacher performance, and in other creative roles. Other teachers are meeting the challenge by providing experience in independent study and small group discussions.

The evidence is starting to mount that pupils can participate in their own destiny if the school environment is one of trust, which recognizes the dignity and worth of students. Student demands to participate in their own destiny provide a real chance for us to correct an injustice that has existed for too long. We should be proud that a pillar of democracy—student participation—is moving closer to reality.

If students are to participate in their own destiny in school related matters, students must choose ways and opportunities to use their talents, interests, and feelings. Here is something that you can do in your school now: See that

> *Students have a voice* in planning, deciding upon, implementing, and evaluating experiences in which they participate.
>
> *Youths* have opportunities to *work with other youths and adults* in a variety of situations, in a variety of relationships.
>
> *Leadership is shared.* Youths share with teachers and other adults the responsibility for guiding and leading activities to the reasonable maximum of their potential.
>
> *Youths* are encouraged to *originate plans and ideas* for enhancing their role and participation in school and community activities.[5]

Why not try it? ☐

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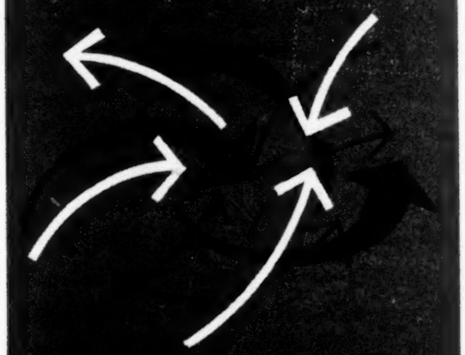
[5] Dolores Paskal, Leonard S. Demak, and Edwin J. McClendon. *New Roles and Relationships.* Detroit: Wayne County Intermediate School District, 1969. p. 3.



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WHORLS IN A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY

Revolutions, once launched, tend to careen out of control. We must learn to manage explosive changes so the fruits of progress are more rapidly and evenly disseminated in improved economic health and educational support for all. We must reexamine more carefully the degree to which our major social institutions actually support the dignity and aspirations of the individuals who comprise them, and whom institutions are designed to serve.
Smith, p. 168.

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Educating Youth in A Revolutionary Society[1]

ROBERT SMITH

SINCE Sputnik, the schools have absorbed more than their share of people's projected tensions. This they have done even as they have sought to respond to revolutions in the major fields of knowledge and in social attitudes and have been forced to adjust to an exploding child population. We in the United States have a grave problem of perceiving broadly enough the scope of our revolution and the related sources of conflict and turmoil which surround all of our basic social institutions.

As a nation we have brought this revolution on ourselves. Our people, restless and mobile, energetic and ingenious in technology, have long equated progress with breaking from the ways of the past, particularly in the economic and political spheres. Through progress we seek to verify the perfectibility of man and his works. Our liberal traditions have generated the mass educational system which itself accelerates the growing pace of change.

We came into being as a revolutionary nation with widespread authority problems and with deep convictions that individual freedom, political freedom, and economic freedom plus education plus latitude of action for the individual in all dimensions of life would rapidly enhance and improve life for all people. As we harnessed these ideas and put them to work during the past 200 years, education has become one of the tremendous motive sources in this society that impel change because the results of education are released and used quickly to build and change society.

The Knowledge Revolution

The production and use of knowledge has precipitated imbalances within the society. The industrial revolution undergirding the world in which we find ourselves has rapidly shifted from its earlier chief ingredients of land, power, minerals, capital equipment, and labor to what is now being labeled as a "knowledge revolution" in the area of ideas readily harnessed to production. Our institutions, however, have been slow to adapt to this fundamental change in the dynamics of society. For example, education, the basic generator of this change, is still widely viewed as a major drain on the resources of the nation.

The "knowledge industry" accounts for nearly one-third of the entire economy and is growing more than twice as fast as the other sectors. Business concerns in the United States spend some $17 billion yearly to educate personnel, or one-third as much as is spent for the nation's public and private school systems. More than one-fourth of the nation is engaged in being educated, and this proportion is increasing. We have about 51 million students and two million teachers. Investment in education, according to the Chase Manhattan Bank, has increased the output of the economy and the income of those educated to a return on investment of about 10 percent.

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[1] This article is an adaptation of the Edith B. Merritt Memorial Lecture given in 1964 at San Francisco State College.

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A primary task of this nation is to invent ways to divert major portions of our wealth and skilled personnel into health, education, and welfare. The needs, viewed in a conventional framework, may appear insatiable. But this is a false perception. For example, in 1929 this nation invested 3.1 percent of its gross national product on education. With the growing implications of the "knowledge revolution," only 5.8 percent was invested during 1963-64, in spite of the relative surge in youth population, costs of education, and the striking rise in gross national product. Many developing nations, despite their poverty, are making far greater relative efforts in the face of much more severe competition for the limited funds available. Instead of shuddering at the "astronomical rise" in educational costs, we might well assess the disposable wealth *left* to this society after deducting educational investments, and make comparisons with the other nations of the world on that basis. Reassurance then should replace panic.

Our emphasis upon science and technology and overuse of highly educated personnel there and in industrial and consumer production reflect another growing imbalance as personnel shortages pile up in social service professions such as nursing, social work, and teaching. Research and development have also lagged in the behavioral sciences for a decade and a half as a direct result of the skewing of the National Science Foundation in the direction of natural sciences. One need not argue for a redress of balance at the expense of favored areas. It is not necessary in a burgeoning economy. The problem is one of advancing selected low priority fields of endeavor in terms of current realities, and of preempting rapidly accruing additional wealth. For example, 1964 produced an increase over the previous year of approximately $40 billion in gross national product.

Knowledge is said to have doubled in the past decade and, in the process, has rendered much previous knowledge questionable or invalid. Ninety percent of the scientists in the world's history are alive and working today. This in itself is one of the driving motive forces of our accumulating revolution. It shakes our institutions, builds cleavages among us, and makes us struggle in efforts to maintain the kind of multigroup and complex multi-institutional society we have become. Unfortunately, while we have moved with dispatch to harness new knowledge to our production and distribution systems, we have been slow to adapt our social institutions to the knowledge revolution.

If we grasp the deeper implications of the "knowledge revolution," we can readily attain three objectives of revolutionary import: (a) we can spend all of the funds we can sensibly absorb for creative extension of educational services; (b) in so doing, we can also assure ourselves of future increases in wealth hitherto unknown; and (c) at the same time, we can achieve new levels of human development for the entire population.

Mobility and Leadership

Population mobility must be recognized as a revolutionary factor in this society. Clearly the tempo of the times demands institutions attuned to high mobility and unstable membership. In some slum-area classes, the teacher's class list by the end of the school year may show triple the number of names listed in September, though the size of the class may remain relatively stable. We know of middle class schools in which, each September, at least half the youngsters and a third of the teachers are new to the school.

The shift of personnel in and out of leadership roles also poses difficulties in achieving continuity of leadership. As we seek desperately for bases of continuity—or certainty—plans are often upset by personnel problems. This aspect of change, commonly overlooked, raises grave questions about our capacity for insightful control of revolutionary pressures. Shifts in leadership are often viewed as needed accessories to change, but the extremely rapid migration of leaders in and out of key roles in our institutions provides a random factor hampering the functions of institutions and curtailing capacity to respond intelligently to change.

Civil Rights Struggle

The explosiveness of this nation's civil rights revolution results from rising aspirations thwarted by unresponsive institutions. That crisis cannot subside without basic revisions of social attitudes and drastic rearrangements affecting our major institutions, especially in education.

The importance of the schools and colleges as agents of change is highlighted by the fact that they were the first among our major institutions to feel the shock of the emerging civil rights struggle a decade ago. Increasingly, problems growing out of rapid change in the larger society are promptly short-circuited into the schools with limited lead-time for planning and with little augmentation of resources. The "war on poverty" comes to mind as the most recent example. Schools and colleges are becoming lightning rods for discharging tensions arising in the society. They are not designed, nor are they yet prepared, for this function.

An Expanding World

Developments in transportation and communication join peoples of the world together along with the contagion of their unsolved problems in human relations. On one hand we are told incessantly that the world is getting smaller. In a limited sense this is true. Supersonic transportation and instant global communication coupled with new potentials for rapid cultural diffusion foster an illusion of a shrinking world.

On the other hand, it is crucial that we perceive the world as *expanding* by leaps and bounds as we look out into it and as we interact with it. In the management of human affairs, the world is expanding; problems become more complex and factors governing them have widening sources of origin, the roots of which tend to become, for the individual, more obscure. We live in larger and larger enclaves whether we refer to community, occupation, government, or world affairs. Reconciliation of diversity and the mustering of consensus for action become increasingly complex processes demanding a resiliency difficult for our generation to muster. There is little in present educational theory and less in practice to suggest that today's youth are being helped to cope with this problem.

We should maintain our respect for specialized competence and for educational programs designed for that purpose. However, many such programs are conceived on too limited a base even for the purposes they are expected to serve both as to content and as to the context in which they are taught. A more serious problem arises in the almost static designs for general and liberal education which pervade the schools and colleges. We have been warned by the psychiatrist, Lawrence Kubie, that specialized erudition without commensurate emotional and social maturity places the tools for destroying civilization in the hands of the erudite immature. Margaret Mead argued, 15 years ago, that our task is to prepare the young so that they can cope with problems previously unknown and remake themselves in the process. The concept is only currently drawing limited attention.

Revolution and Ideals

We are considering here a developmental revolution building at a progressively more rapid pace through time, generated by a complementary set of factors which force drastic changes in major sectors of our society. The cumulative impact on our institutions, on our patterns of association and habits of mind, has the dimensions of revolution; but ours is a *continuing* revolution rather than a one-time staccato affair, hence more of it goes on beneath our level of conscious awareness.

What then do we have as a common ideology or set of social ideals to consolidate our continuing revolution? The democratic creed of the Enlightenment provides the baseline. But those ideals to which most of us subscribe seem to many to represent *a priori* concepts and notions, often out of step with the revolution as it progresses. A significant minority of our people would jettison the ideals of democracy for various anti-democratic alternatives. Perhaps we have been careless in our efforts to clarify and reinterpret our ideals by underestimating the difficulties in sustaining needed consensus in a multigroup society in transition and under stress. Rejecting the efficacy of indoctrination, we experience difficulty in keeping our ideals—our motive forces of direction—bright and sharp.

Problem of Counter Revolution

There is another facet of revolutions which we cannot enjoy. Revolutions tend by and large to be brief and violent—giving many people release from frustration and pent-up anger. They are exhausting and their conclusion is followed by a period of consolidation under the fighting ideals of the revolution, if the revolutionists are successful.

We must, for example, learn to cope with counter revolution *in process* if we are to control our revolution through democratic values and humane goals. While we may have small cause for discouragement, carelessness and noncommitment could spell disaster for an open society. Currently we find counter revolutionaries maneuvering as Minute Men in the deserts of Southern California, the White Citizens' Councils in the South, the Black Muslims in metropolitan ghettos, and the John Birch cadres developing in the suburbs. We find proposals to restrict the level of educational opportunity extended to students of average ability and below-average financial means.

Broad awareness of the meaning and potential of an open society coupled with determined efforts to extend opportunities and freedom to those left behind in the revolution become major antidotes to anti-democratic movements which challenge our persisting ideals.

Human Costs of Revolution

Revolutions are marked by the unevenness of their impact on different sectors of the population involved. In this respect, our revolution is characteristic. Large ethnic and socioeconomic groups have been left behind, as Harrington[2] and Sexton[3] have pointed out. They lag in economic status, formal education, and citizenship rights, and thus suffer severe cultural impoverishment. As a result, large numbers of youth grow up in "cultural pockets" making access to responsible adulthood difficult.

Despite our wealth and increasing investment in education, we permit a third of our young people to leave school before completing high school. Yet unemployment among youthful workers is double that of the working force. Also, we are facing an explosion in the size of our potential work force at a time when manpower needs are shrinking rapidly for the undereducated.

Problems of youth are not confined to the lower socioeconomic and ethnic groups. College-bound students are facing growing problems of gaining admission to and maintaining themselves in colleges and universities. Evidence is accumulating that increasing numbers of promising students are living in anxiety, chronic fatigue, and fear of failure so acute that their health is impaired.

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[2] Michael Harrington. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States.* Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1962.

[3] Patricia C. Sexton. *Education and Income: Inequalities of Opportunities in Our Public Schools.* New York: Viking Press, 1961.

These are the dreary aspects of our revolution and can be viewed as another consequence of it. Large numbers of people suffer grievous impairment of opportunity and health during such periods. Revolutions, once launched, tend to careen out of control. We must learn to manage explosive changes so the fruits of progress are more rapidly and evenly disseminated in improved economic health and educational support for all. We must reexamine more carefully the degree to which our major social institutions actually support the dignity and aspirations of the individuals who comprise them, and whom institutions are designed to serve.

Ours is a society born of dissent and one that, in its building, has looted the natural resources of a continent, poisoned its lakes and streams, and polluted its atmosphere in pursuit of immediate and sometimes narrowly conceived goals. It need not stand aghast at the small minority of youth who express their turbulence through negativism, violence, and vandalism. It is axiomatic that youth get out of hand—or appear to their elders to do so—in revolutionary periods.

Education is thus no longer a casual affair. It must be granted top priority as a prime instrument through which we realize the constructive potential of our ongoing revolution.

A Focus on Needs

The problems of youth and the schools demand massive resources and talent drawn from many fields for the following educational needs:

1. Analysis of existing knowledge and support of research in the area of human development and learning so that teaching and school management shall be guided by the best that we know
2. Extension of educational programs designed to complement the family and neighborhood environment—especially for early childhood years—thus capitalizing on new evidence of growth potential in both cognitive and affective development
3. Assessment of the social dynamics and human relations within schools in efforts to maximize their supportive potential for personality and character development as well as for effectiveness in more traditional kinds of school learning
4. Development of cultural service and work experience programs designed to lend continuity to youth's experience in and out of school
5. The design of original, experimental curricula with strategies for *unlearning* and *transitional* learning adapted to build self-confidence and improved self-concepts for those impaired by previous experience
6. Reexamination of special fields of knowledge for related integrative concepts functionally related to human development appropriate to a democratic society
7. Reexamination of possibilities for more extensive and creative use of specialized personnel from a broader range of fields
8. Exploration of our ongoing revolution for attitudinal and value implications which should shape major objectives of the schools—especially for character and citizenship education
9. Development of patterns of parent participation and in-service education for school personnel aimed at serious involvement in the process of rethinking the role and function of the schools
10. Establishment of research facilities and consultants to work with teachers and specialists in every school district and county in liaison with higher education and state and national agencies.

Such efforts require financial resources and personnel beyond conventional conceptions of educational needs. As a start, we might seriously consider doubling the outlay for education during the next five to ten years. In addition, we might add a modest increment for research and experimentation, broadly conceived. Supposing we were merely to match the existing level of expenditure for research in science, technology, and the development of hardware for war and defense—presently estimated at $22 billion?

Through such modest efforts, an affluent society might expect to gain greater control of its revolution in the service of human values. ☐

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The Insufferable Lot of the American Middle Class Child[1]

SAMUEL TENENBAUM

WE IN America do not realize what a competitive, rivalrous, demanding society is this in which we live. Since the middle class represents the solid base, the synthesis of a culture, the lot of the American middle class child is particularly difficult, if not insufferable. J. M. Whiting and I. L. Child compared 47 societies studied by anthropologists as to the severity of parental demands placed on children. They concluded there were only two societies more severe with children than we are with our own middle class child.

As soon as the American middle class child is born, he becomes the object of solicitous care and concern. And what is the purpose of all this concern? It is to groom him so that he can outpace, outdistance, outrival the neighbor's child and everyone else's child. Like a competing horse in a race, the child is critically and judgmentally watched for his potential. This surveillance starts almost from the day of his birth. An advertisement published by an insurance company shows a father holding a soft, cuddly infant, no more than a month or two old. Looking down at his child, the father says, "Thomas, I want to talk to you about college." Already little Thomas has begun to feel the duties and demands placed on him. For the middle class child, even the time he achieves toilet control, when he begins to walk and talk, become matters of invidious comparisons. "Look at that Milton there doing his business and look at you. . . ." The parent may think these thoughts or say them, but no matter what, the child feels them.

As soon as the child starts school, the middle class race becomes really serious. If their Thomas gets 90 percent, the parents always know a Milton who gets 100 percent; and if he gets 100 percent, they always know a Milton who gets two, or three, or four 100 percents; so what is one 100 percent?

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[1] Based on a paper presented in August 1969 before the Second International Congress of Social Psychiatry in London, England.

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If their Thomas gets into a college, the parents always know a Milton who got into a more prestigious college—on a scholarship, to boot. For it is no longer sufficient for an American middle class child to be a plain college graduate, he must be a graduate of a "prestige" college.

The whole idea behind this maneuvering is to create for their child a marketable package and for this the parents push, scheme, and manipulate; and this package involves graduation from a prestige college, prestige awards and scholarships, getting to know the right people so as to make the right contacts, so as to make the right friends, so as to make the right marriage, etc. Since a university degree is the minimum requirement—the union card—for any sort of upward mobility, of pushing ahead, the proportion of college students in America is probably larger than in any other society. Forty-five percent of our young people of college age are in colleges, compared with about eight percent in England and, perhaps, three to four percent in France.

No matter how good in character the child, if he does badly at school, he will be scorned and abused by his middle class parents. No matter how horrible in character the child, if he does brilliantly at school, if he is admitted to a prestige college and wins scholastic honors, his parents will be proud of him. Such a son can do almost anything and will be forgiven.

The Frantic Parents

If not so tragic in import, it would be amusing to watch frantic middle class parents manage the academic careers of their tots, no older than five, six, and seven, as they scheme, manipulate, and use influence to gain their children's entrance into the right and proper private (public in England) schools. Since there has developed such competitive demand for these status schools, children at the age of six or seven may find themselves stamped as academic failures if they fail to pass examinations for these schools. It does not take much insight to understand how traumatic such failure can be for the small child—not quite comprehending what it is all about but desperately wanting to please his parents—as he is taken by his mother from school to school, only to learn that he has been rejected not once but several times because he has failed the devilish tests set for him. And it does not take much imagination to understand how his parents feel about the child and about their own sad lot when they discover that the children of their friends have passed these examinations and been admitted.

Middle class parents, I should add, are most ingenious in preventing their child from flunking out of his class. A prominent person of means had enough influence to have his son admitted to a prestige college, but the youth was expelled shortly thereafter. Said the father: "I found a hole of a college in the South where I doubt if the professors had learned how to read and, thank heavens, they gave him an A.B. And then I got my broker to give him a job." The father seemed pleased as he told the story, since he felt that he had now saved his son for middle class respectability.

Furthermore, middle class sex roles are equally difficult, equally competitive. It is expected that the male child grow up tall, dark, and handsome. He should, like a troubadour of old, enchant women. When married he should play the role of a Don Juan to his wife, keep her perpetually entertained and above all happy; and, of course, he should be a generous provider. When he buys his resplendent home in the suburbs, he should also automatically take on added duties. After coming home from his city job, he should help his wife after supper with the dishes, help take care of the children, and see to the repair of his home. At the same time, he should be a leader of men—in the business world, in society, in the community. He should exemplify all virtues, but most important, he should always be big, big, and even bigger—successful, successful, and even more successful!

The role set for the woman is equally frightening. First of all, she should be very beautiful, with a beauty sufficient to inspire poetry and song. She should be smart, sophisticated, fashionable, chic, and, withal, be a glamorous career girl. Naturally, she should be a graduate of a prestige college. Her person should at all times be flawless, sanitized to the nth degree. Her home, equally sanitized, should reflect exquisite taste. When she entertains, she should be a charming hostess, witty, captivating, so that her husband's business associates and friends are enchanted. As a couple, they both should be popular and sought after for all purposes.

She should be a perfect mother, tender, maternal, gentle, know exactly what is the right and proper thing to do for her children under all circumstances. Although feminine, lacy, and frilly, she should be able to fight with the courage of a lion to protect her children from any jeopardy. To her husband her role is equally complex. She should be siren, mistress, wife, mother, companion, lover. And above all she should have intuition. By this is meant, I suppose, she should know what is exactly the right thing to do, the perfect solution for all problems that arise. If you heed at all American television, cinema, popular periodicals, you will know that only woe and tragedy befall any male who is indifferent and, even worse, goes counter to a woman's intuition. So I suppose assigning to women this divine intuition has placed on her the burden of being all-knowing and all-wise.

No Limit to Ambition

How hard it is in this competitive, rivalrous culture genuinely to share and to be happy over another's achievements! How easy it is to show concern and have genuine feeling of kinship and woe in the presence of ruin and death! Freud said that a funeral is a happy event for most people, since their competitor is gone from the scene and they are left behind as victors.

As Tennyson has so well said:

Ambition
Is like the sea wave, which the more
you drink
The more you thirst—yea—drink
too much, as men
Have done on rafts of wreck—it
drives you mad.

Our middle class society is obsessed by a desire to achieve and to outrank family and friends and to make friends and family feel inferior compared with one's own achievements. We have no compunction in consigning to ridicule and public scorn those who do not succeed. We have built up a whole vocabulary to describe such unfortunates. We call them lazy, stupid, incompetent, "good for nothing." They are even regarded with contempt by their own children and family. How many good, hard-working, conscientious, kindly souls have been broken and made into human debris by our society's insistence on success and more success! In the very nature of our competitive society—each trying to outachieve the other—there is inevitable failure.

"Hitch your wagon to a star," Emerson told us. And the misfortune is that so many fine and good people build their lives on such fanciful dreams. Some work ceaselessly to achieve this miracle, never giving up, no matter how unrealistic the goal; and at the end all they have to show for their spent lives are failure and despair. They never stop trying to break the Empire State Building by banging their heads against it and wrecking their lives.

Even those who go through the motion of quitting this hopeless struggle do so with severe damage to their personalities, for there simmers within them a black stew of discontent, resentment, jealousy, and hate. There is no limit to ambition, only sleepless nights and a "lean and hungry look." Even those who are eminently successful in the struggle, those who have achieved mightily and have won the acclaim of their colleagues, continue to drive themselves to ever-greater effort and set their goals for ever-higher achievements.

The Little Man

Since the emphasis in the American culture is on individualism, on going it alone and doing it alone, no one ever feels that his good is merged in a cooperative tribal sense. True enough, because of this, the person experiences triumphs and exaltations peculiarly of his own making. We are a society of many achievements, some indeed remarkable.

We live with considerable ease and luxury; and for the most part our people have an abundance of food and good shelter. You probably know that the two major problems in the United States at present are finding parking places for our automobiles that clog our cities and keeping our waistlines in reasonable proportions because of overeating. In most other areas of the world, man's crucial problem is to find enough food so that he will not starve. Two-thirds of the human beings in this universe go to sleep at night hungry for lack of food. But I believe we are paying a terrible price in human values for the driving ambition, the competitiveness that has made these material goods possible.

Isolated, suffering, alone, the strongly competitive individual cannot resort even to his nearest kin for succor; for in his competitiveness, his living for success and achievement, we find all too often brother vying with brother, friend with friend, family member with other family members, children with parents. In his travail, he cannot obtain what little comfort comes from acknowledging fear, guilt, weakness; for by the conventions he is expected to be strong and brave, so that often he hides behind a façade of fake bravado the small, suffering, little human being he is and we all are. And in truth one does not go in weakness to a rival for help.

His tragedy is further compounded in that the mighty things he creates and builds further alienate him from himself and from society. His mighty machines and his never-ceasing industry in the end dominate and enslave him. Our giant industries have become too big for man. His government, created to serve him, has in its vastness become so remote that he, the little man, is lost and engulfed. Even his social life has become complex, organized like a business, and—even worse—competitive.

An Empire of Things

We have known millionaires who have died in big mansions in their massive beds, surrounded by five nurses and three doctors, but without a soul to touch their hand in human kindness. The struggle to achieve and to amass has created not human warmth, but an empire of things, remote and cold, and of no comfort in the deepest sense, outside of the ease of dying.

Man lives alone, he suffers alone, he dies alone. Many cannot cope with this sense of being alone and many psychological problems result. Many break under the strain, unable to carry the load, especially when they cannot successfully compete; and their misfortunes seem to be much greater than their successes. The sense of being alone, of being unwanted, of being adrift on uncharted seas, of being weighed down with Job-like despair, is indigenous and inevitable in an individualistic and competitive culture. Psychiatrists and psychologists know the high price man has paid in broken and misspent lives for this pattern of conduct.

The existential reality is this: We—all of us—are on a sinking ship. Every day we are dying a little. Every day we are a step nearer to the cemetery. And Hobbes has warned us that the solitary life is "poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

Because of these cultural pressures, our middle class, I believe, has become so driving, so ambitious, so competitive—obsessively and compulsively so—that its members are doing irreparable harm to themselves and their offspring. I ask: Is this, our competitive, achieving culture, destroying our capacity for good, warm, loving relationships—traits crucial to the good person? Are our ambitions devouring us? Are middle class parents with their insatiable demands for ever-higher achievement casting a blight on their offspring? Will these young people become driving and hard, not the soft and warm human beings so crucially essential if they are to become good husbands and wives and cooperating members of a society increasingly complex and difficult? ☐

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Reach Out or Die Out

F. T. CLOAK, JR.

HOMO SAPIENS is a species within the animal kingdom, the vertebrate subphylum, the mammalian class, and the primate order. The differences between this species and others, while striking to us, are of degree only.

H. sapiens has been perhaps the most successful species up to now, but the very mechanisms which have led to this temporary success (and *all* success is temporary, in terms of evolutionary time) may lead it to extinction in the very near future. It is the author's purpose to discuss some of these mechanisms, to show how they have led to adaptive success, to show why they are dynamically and cumulatively developing into a very real threat to the existence of the species, and to suggest a new approach to the humanities and social studies in the schools which may help to defer the threat, at least for another generation or two.

Success of a species is defined as survival and increase, or at least maintenance, of numbers through time. The requisites of success are *adaptation* to the existing environment, and *adaptability* to allow for further adaptation to the environment as it changes.

The vertebrate species in general have achieved success through adaptive *behavior,* that is, by developing ways by which individuals actively interact with each other, with animals of other species (for example, with predators and prey), with vegetation, with physiographic features, and with other aspects of their immediate environment. Each normal individual of the species acquires a set of *instructions* for behavior from certain other, generally older, individuals, thus maintaining the continuity of appropriate adaptive behaviors down through the generations.

Continuity of Behavior

Some of these instructions are inherited *biologically,* equally (and exclusively) from

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the male and female parent; these biological instructions are "wired in" at birth, to use a computer analogy, or they develop spontaneously with normal growth later on. Some biological instructions are highly specific; they tell the individual animal exactly what to do in a given situation. Other biological "wired in" instructions are more general; they tell the individual how to learn from experience, or from the example or tuition of other individuals.

In other words, these general biological instructions direct the animal to acquire more specific instructions from its own surroundings.

Mammalian species, in general, are characterized by a high development of this learning mode of acquiring instructions.

When individuals learn from the example or tuition of other individuals, we can speak of another, nonbiological, kind of instructions, parallel to the biological kind. As instructions of the biological kind are "wired" into the nervous system of the individual through the action of his genes during development, so those of this other kind are "programmed" into his nervous system by training and by observation. Thus they too are received from other, generally older, individuals; and again, the continuity of appropriate, adaptive behaviors is maintained down through the generations.

Each normal individual acquires the traditional behaviors of the species or, more accurately, the traditional behaviors of his local subgroup; in other words, he acquires the *culture* of his group. The higher primate species (monkeys, apes, and men) are characterized by the development of repertories of culturally transmitted instructions for behavior. Until very recently, as we shall see, the problems of adaptation that man has faced have been exactly the same as those of other behaving animals. His super-primate development of the cultural mode of transmission, and of repertories of cultural instructions, have simply made him the most successful of them all.

Change of Behavior

So far, I have emphasized the *continuity* of biological and cultural behavior-systems. I have alluded to development of species, but not to development of repertories of instructions, biological ("wired") and cultural ("programmed"). Turning now to the mechanisms of evolutionary *change* of behavioral repertories, I must begin by stating a basic assumption: While biological instructions and cultural instructions for behavior differ in their modes of transmission, and in certain specific details of their evolutionary mechanisms, the general process of evolutionary development is identical for both.

As Charles Darwin showed, in his *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection,* the process of evolution consists of two phases, radiant variation and natural selection. By radiant variation, Darwin meant spontaneous, random change in hereditary material. The most important form of radiant variation, we now know, is *mutation,* and we shall use that term from now on. In the behavioral language we have been using, from time to time an instruction is modified spontaneously at some point in its transmission from one individual to another, or a new instruction seems to spring into existence spontaneously, perhaps as a random combination of old instructions or parts thereof.

The essential point here is that from the point of view of adaptiveness, there is neither rhyme nor reason for any given mutation.[1] Hence mutation in no way provides direction to evolution; what it does provide is *evolutionary potential,* the material upon which the directional process, natural selection, can operate.

Natural selection is Darwin's other phase of evolution. In our terms, natural selection determines that instructions (new *and* old) for more adaptive behaviors survive, prosper, and propagate at the expense of instructions for less adaptive behaviors. It works this way: If a novel (mutant) instruction makes the behavior of its carrier more adaptive than that of his fellows, he will probably live a little better and/or a little longer, and thus have more opportunities than they to pass on his whole repertory of instructions, *including the new one.*

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[1] The vast majority of mutations are, in fact, maladaptive. To use the computer analogy again, the occurrence of a mutation is like stabbing a program card with an ice pick; the chances of getting a better program are very small, but finite.

So more of the children or pupils in the next generation will be his and, possessing the new, superior instruction, they will have the same reproductive/pedagogical advantage over *their* fellows, and so on until, as an ultimate limit, the new instruction may eventually become universal in the local group. (Indeed, since intergroup transmission is always going on, it may become established in other groups, provided it is adaptive in *them,* and ultimately become a universal instruction for the whole species.)

When thinking about behavioral evolution, it is very important (and very difficult) to remember that the entire process is completely mechanical. It does not matter at all whether anybody believes the new behavior to be adaptive or not, to be moral or not, to be desirable or not. It *does* matter, of course, whether the behavior (that is, the behaver) is rewarded or punished by other individuals in the group, because such behavior by them is a feature of the surroundings to which the new behavior must be adaptive if it is to endure.

For example, if I merely *believe* that a new behavior on the part of my anthropology students (for example, refusing to do "Mickey Mouse" assignments) is "bad," or maladaptive, I may be correct or I may be incorrect. The only way to find out is to wait for natural selection to work, to see whether the behavior becomes more and more widespread, whether students who acquire the behavior prove to be more successful as adults than those who do not, and so forth. My belief (that the new behavior is maladaptive) is not scientific or rational, it is merely a part of *my* behavioral repertory, acquired from parents, teachers, classmates, and others; in short, it is simply a prejudice.

In truth, I have no real way of knowing whether that behavior is maladaptive or not; the sciences of anthropology, sociology, pedagogy, or whatever simply have not developed to the point where I can make an honest, rational prediction of the long-run consequences of a new behavior.[2]

If, on the other hand, my instructional repertory leads me to *act* in a certain way toward this new behavior and its carriers, perhaps by flunking them out of school and into the army, I am quite certain that the behavior would *not* survive, prosper, or propagate. But what have I done? I have, by acting as an environmental factor, effectively *made* the new behavior maladaptive. The question of its long-term adaptiveness is completely moot; it will never be tested. Whatever protestations I may make about having acted on the basis of my "learning," and about having "taught" the students an important lesson about life, I have in fact neither learned anything nor taught anything. I have merely proved that I constitute a significant portion of the students' environment.

To reiterate: Our traditional instructions, biological or cultural, may or may not produce in us behavior adequately adaptive for our present environment. As we pass these instructions along, the behaviors they produce may or may not be adequately adaptive for *future* environments. Whether they will or not, they are all we have to pass on.

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[2] It is because of the utter impossibility, given our present state of ignorance, of predicting the long-term adaptive consequences of an innovation, that I feel justified in treating the introduction of a new cultural instruction as a random mutation. In short, cultural innovations may *seem* to be more predictable than biological innovations, but their adaptive consequences are not, and that is what really matters. No matter how carefully we try consciously to shape our social ends, natural selection seems to prove us fools in the long run.

Any evaluation or conscious selection, of our own instructions or of instructions we may observe in the behavior of others, will itself be based on our own traditional instructions; metaphorically, on the past experience of our group.

We have *never* had a way of planning for a future different from the present, and we have none now. Until recently, our present and future environments were enough like our past environments to let us survive from one generation to the next, and even to prosper, by using the instructions traditional to our group. Now, in the last half of the 20th century, there is considerable doubt whether this two-million- (or two-billion-) year-old truth still holds, for reasons we shall now discuss.

Frequently, when an animal behaves, it alters its environment. In general, however, and invariably until recently, when an animal alters its environment the change is soon reversed by natural forces; the environment soon returns to its former state. (For example, if a pack of wolves brings down an elk, another elk soon takes its place.) This is what is frequently referred to as "the balance of nature." Long-term, irreversible change is generally brought about by geological and climatological processes which operate very slowly; a significant change takes place only over a great many animal generations. Thus, a relatively slow rate of mutation generally provides an adequate evolutionary potential, a sufficient amount of variability for natural selection to operate on, to keep the species adapted.

Until about 10,000 years ago, alterations in environment brought about by the behavior of *human* animals were completely reversible also. Man was exclusively a hunter and gatherer, ecologically a sort of combination wolf and ape, although biologically he had been a hominid for over two million years and had been completely human for at least 100,000 years. Even after humans acquired instructions for food-producing behaviors (the "neolithic revolution," *circa* 8000 B.C.), their ability to alter the environment irreversibly was only slight, although within a mere 2,000 years some of them were constructing irrigation works, building and living in cities, and turning to imperial conquest of their neighbors.

Yet for all that, a new and significant pattern of evolutionary change was set: Every innovation which proved adaptive to the present environment, and thus became established through natural selection, in turn irreversibly altered the future environment, thus making some old behaviors maladaptive and some new behaviors adaptive, which in turn altered the environment again, thus creating a *positive feedback loop* between behavioral (now exclusively cultural) change and environmental change. More critically, one environmental change may pave the way for *several* instructional changes, *each* of which may cause *several* environmental changes, each of which, in turn, may call forth several instructional changes; so there has been a tremendous and continuing *acceleration* in the rates of both cultural and environmental change since neolithic times.

Conformity and Continuity

From the point of view of individuals' conscious awareness, the snowballing of change began to cause discomfort about the time of George Washington, or a little after. Up until then, the people of each generation could still feel that life was much the same as it had been before, and that it would continue to be about the same (local fluctuations and disasters, of course, excepted). Thus, the traditional life-ways (instructions) were good enough, with maybe a little technological innovation here and there being recognized in each man's lifetime, but certainly with no change being recognized in such areas as religion or morals. Changes in religion and morals *had* been going on right along, of course, but slowly enough to have been imperceptible to the individual, or at least to have been handled by traditional grumpy gossiping of the old about the young; which is to say that real culture change had been masked by traditionally recognized old-young "generation gap" differences.

But increasingly, ever since Washington's time, as people get older they are forced to perceive that the world (that is, their individual environments, including the behaviors of other, especially younger, people) is changing in the span of their own lifetimes, and they respond with behaviors that have functioned, in the past, to resist change. Whether or not they recognize that the perceived changes consist of results of their own past behavior, and of new adaptations of the young to those results, is irrelevant. Their cultural inventories include instructions to act against change, and they act. Those instructions are included in their inventories because, for literally millions of years, they were adaptive; there was very strong selective pressure in their favor.

In a hunting society, in a peasant society, or even in a pre-industrial urban society, the risks involved in change far outweigh the likely benefits, so selection favors a low mutation rate. Invariably, the cultural mutation rate has been kept low by the establishment of instructions placing the power of decision making in the hands of older people, along with instructions making older people react negatively to the natural (I believe) innovative efforts of the young. The kids want to try everything; the grown-ups want to squelch them; and the grown-ups have the guns.

In our society, grown-ups' change-resisting instructions vary from the maxim "Children should be seen and not heard," to the rules governing the organization of the United States Senate, to our propensity to patronize foreigners and members of minority groups; that is, to treat them as children, who should be seen and not heard. Our old values, our old beliefs, our old techniques are to be trusted; we react viscerally to any challenge to them, because throughout history any innovation has been in fact risky. The elders of the tribe have always constituted the first adaptive hurdle for any new idea, and for good reason—*until now.*

Now we are up against the wall. Our changing repertories of cultural instructions have caused us to behave in such a way that we have changed the world far beyond the point where the repertories can direct our behavior to cope with it. We recognize, I believe, that we cannot cope with it by changing it back. Therefore, we must change our repertories all the faster, to adapt to this ever more rapidly changing environment. But, as I have already argued, we cannot *guide* culture change in an adaptive direction, because we are far too ignorant.

Humanities and Social Studies

There is only one thing we can do that has any scientific basis at all, and that is deliberately to raise the mutation rate, if we can; to try, and above all to let the young try, as many combinations and variations of as many different instructions as possible, to give natural selection the maximum amount of material to work on.

We can attempt, in other words, to raise our evolutionary potential. *We can do this by ridding ourselves and our fellow adults and, certainly, our children and pupils, of old instructions whose sole function is to produce conformity and continuity in behavior.* To do that requires a new approach to the teaching of the humanities and social studies in the schools.

Most of humanities and social studies instruction has been concerned with the inculcation of values, with an attempt to implant the communal instructions for making moral decisions in the children's nervous systems, in order to maintain continuity with the past. At the same time we have used our authority to protect our children from alien moral ideas and notions and influences. If we are to raise the evolutionary potential of our culture, we must now reverse ourselves completely.

We must say openly: "There are probably a lot of behavioral instructions in the American white middle-class repertory which will be adaptive for you, but there are probably a lot of instructions there which will be maladaptive for you, too, and we frankly have no idea which will be which for you in 2000 A.D. or for your children in 2030 A.D. There are also probably some potentially useful ideas in a thousand other repertories. We will make as many of these repertories available to you as we can. But we can't select for you. You must make your own selection."

It follows, of course, that there is neither time nor place in this new approach for stock curricula, regular lectures, or examinations on specific bodies of content. We must cultivate not only freedom to choose from the past, but also diversity in the present. Each student must be positively encouraged to do his own thing, and defended against pressure to conform from teachers, schoolmates, and parents. This is not for his good, and certainly not for his enjoyment (many will find it most painful), but for the survival of our society.

To try to raise our cultural evolutionary potential by thus raising the mutation rate is to run a terrible risk; it is bound to produce disruption in the school and in the community and suffering for individuals. But, if the alternative is to allow our behavioral repertories to fall farther and farther behind adaptive reality, then Western civilization, and perhaps the entire species *Homo sapiens*, will follow the dodo and the dinosaur into oblivion. ☐

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Irrationalism and the New Reformism

MARY ANNE RAYWID

AMONG the ideas which may soon come to influence education most significantly, two stand out—both by way of gathering momentum, and by virtue of the changes they would bring to any and all institutions affected. The first of these ideas—or, more accurately, these sets of ideas—is what might be called irrationalism or, in its extreme form, anti-rationalism. The second constitutes a very special type of reformism, taking its character and flavor from the anti-rationalism which in part inspires it.

To assess the sort of impact these two interrelated ideas may have on schools, we must first examine their nature and form. Although an exhaustive attempt might fill a book, perhaps we can here look at two outstanding features of each of these sets of ideas: the circumscribing of reason's role and the expansion of the role of emotion, as represented in contemporary irrationalism; and the irrationalism and rejection of democratic process which mark the new reformism.

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Anti-Rationalism

First, just what sort of anti-rationalism is present? Actually, it seems to constitute a broad trend, displaying a range of conviction with respect to the role of rationality in life. It includes those disappointed heirs of the Enlightenment who have come to question whether reason and knowledge will ever yield the solutions we had hoped. And in more extreme form, the movement also encompasses those who no longer question but are convinced that for contemporary man, reason has become more bane than boon. A direct, frontal attack on reason has played a prominent part in many of the activities of the New Left, black militants, and student demonstrators across the nation. It is not merely that critics seem justified in charging these groups with anti-rationalism. The significant point is rather that so many have openly claimed anti-rationalism for themselves. For an overt rejection of logic, reason, and knowledge is one of the most frequent themes of these groups—even if its expression is often parenthetic and almost offhanded. Indeed, it is almost as if a rejection of the processes and products of reason has already become an unquestioned operating assumption for these groups. Thus, such rejection needs stating only in handling outsiders and their challenges.

On such occasions, one hears the message over and over again: " 'On the New Left, we're not so logical,' " proudly proclaims one young interviewee. And furthermore, " 'It is not possible to be logical when you're with us.' " [1] At the recent Princeton seminar held by the International Association for Cultural Freedom, observer Walter Goodman was struck by the frequency with which these groups expressed their suspicion toward reason.

This attitude went well beyond impatience with the tedium of such traditional practices as discussion, analysis, and weighing of alternatives. It was not that these were merely dull or unnecessary: They were downright undesirable. Moreover, the several representatives of the newer politics condemned repeatedly the "lack of passion" of the others gathered at Princeton. One put it hands down: " 'Cool reasonableness is . . . not preferable to a political hysteria.' " [2]

This introduces a second facet of anti-rationalism, which is really but the other side of the coin. For if reason, knowledge, and analysis are found wanting when it comes to choosing a program or deciding an issue, it is feeling and passion on which one should depend instead. Indeed, among this group, passionate conviction and involvement provide the very procedural ground for decision and choice—just as detachment, objectivity, and calm appraisal were once urged as the qualitative ground important to valid choosing and deciding. These latter, traditional qualities, suggest the present group, are in fact better calculated to becloud and invalidate choosing; for the yield of detached choice will surely lack the sort of "gut commitment" that provides the only legitimate warrant for acceptance and action.

A man may become intellectually convinced by objective experiment and demonstration that "Water boils at 212°F."—or cognitively informed by factual reports that numerous deaths from malnutrition are occurring daily in Biafra—but neither item is likely to rouse him to passionate relevant partisanship. And unless something evokes feeling *in* him, then it lacks "authenticity" *for* him, and he is just as well off not believing it at all.

Without such a crucial, sanctioning emotional quality, sheer knowledge or belief is meaningless and useless or worse: productive of inauthenticity or hypocrisy.

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[1] Quoted by Lionel Abel in: "Seven Heroes of the New Left." *New York Times Magazine,* May 5, 1968. pp. 30 and 129.

[2] Quoted by Walter Goodman in: "The Liberal Establishment Faces the Blacks, the Young, the New Left." *New York Times Magazine,* December 29, 1968. p. 30.

Intense emotion, caring, and passion stand then as contemporary irrationalism's cure for the ills of today. Yet not all the individuals and ideas comprising the growing irrationalist trend are as openly hostile to reason as are the youth groups and militants so far identified. There are proposals in many fields which do not involve *direct* assaults on reason and its efficacy or desirability—but which nevertheless lead to quite similar consequences. For the irrationalist, as well as the anti-rationalist, urges the substitution of feeling and emotion in approaching tasks we have been assigning to reason and knowledge.

Both explicit and implicit, the evidences and manifestations of this milder irrationalist tendency abound in various spheres, and from diverse sources.

The impressive popularity of Marshall McLuhan provides one kind of case in point, for McLuhan almost contemptuously dismisses the "linear," one-dimensional logic which has provided the model for the rationalist tradition. For him, such logic is simply obsolete and passé. And although as scientist and scholar McLuhan must keep one foot in the old-fashioned rationalist camp, both the method and style of his works reveal an increasingly familiar impatience with traditional ways of working out and supporting conclusions. The imagery in which he deals, and the often obscure connections and associations by which he proceeds from one idea to another, suggest a style of inquiry which has aptly been dubbed more psychedelic than scientific or rationalistic.

Indeed, in education itself—and not just among the youth protesting the Establishment—one finds a growing preoccupation with emotion, feeling, and affect among the most widely read newer books. As one interpreter observed, the education books of the sixties differ markedly from those most prominent a decade ago. The latter called for an "intellectual upgrading" within education; today's cry is instead for "humanizing" the schools, and the concern is with affective development, not cognitive.[3]

A remarkable recent addition to this literature bears the telling title *Education and Ecstasy*. Criticizing almost all education past and present for its omission of "the Dionysian factor," the author asks and answers the critical educational question this way:

> What, then, is the purpose, the goal of education? A large part of the answer may well be what men of this civilization have longest feared and most desired: *the achievement of moments of ecstasy*. Not fun, not simply pleasure, as in the equation of Bentham and Mill, not the libido pleasure of Freud, but ecstasy, *ananda*, the ultimate delight.[4]

It is unfair to the author, *Look* editor George Leonard, to oversimplify his plan for achieving this goal. But encounter groups constitute a major and continuing method to be diffused and pursued in some form in most teaching and learning. And he also suggests that schools can learn much from such personalistically-oriented endeavors as the unusual Esalen Institute, with its program of "meditation, intensified inner imagery, basic encounter, sensory awareness, expressive physical movement, and creative symbolic behavior." Criticizing the distorting bias of education as we have known it, the author suggests that today's schools typically produce "emotional imbeciles," "sensory ignoramuses," and "somatic dumbbells."

Mr. Leonard does not indulge in open anti-rationalism. There is no overt denigration of the cognitive nor denial to it of an important role, either in education or in living. But what we have seen does seem to place him squarely among the larger group who have concluded that we simply cannot ask of reason and knowledge all that we of the 20th century have expected from them. And this adds up to a plea for an enlarged sphere and role for the irrational in man. Leonard obviously joins the ranks of those who want to pursue answers to life's major questions by consulting emotion in preference to reason. And his rationale is presumably quite similar to that previously mentioned: the demand for passionate involvement in the replies to those questions, and a continuously intense emotional engagement with life itself. "The future," he warns, "will very likely judge nothing less appropriate than detached, fragmented, unfeeling men." [5]

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[3] Harold W. Sobel. "The New Wave of Educational Literature." *Phi Delta Kappan* 50 (2) 109-11; October 1968.

[4] All quotations are taken from *Education and Ecstasy*, by George B. Leonard (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968) as it originally appeared in three installments of *Look:* "How School Stunts Your Child," 32 (19): 31-34+; September 17, 1968; "Visiting Day 2001 A.D.," 32 (20): 37-40+; October 1, 1968; and "The Future Now," 32 (21): 57-60+; October 15, 1968. Reprinted by courtesy of the editors. From the May 28, 1968 issue of *Look*. Copyright © 1968 by Cowles Communications, Inc.

The New Reformism

Since he is also a bearer of the new reformism earlier mentioned, Mr. Leonard provides a good introduction to this second set of ideas which may also exert profound educational influence. Last year he promulgated "A New Liberal Manifesto" in which he explained why traditional liberalism "failed" and has become "irrelevant":

> Many liberals suffered a disabling flaw. Their liberalism did not extend below their eyebrows. . . . they were liberals of doctrine, ideology, and the intellect. . . .[6]

As this suggests, the heart of the new reformism is just that: heart. Its affinity with anti-rationalism is clear because it seeks to extend the general style and specific procedures of irrationalism to apply to sociopoliticial issues and decisions. The new reformism stands as a recommendation to the effect that irrationalism provides the answers, not just for the individual's life style and choices; it also recommends the appropriate posture for nations, and the general means of working out our collective problems.

Within the new reformism, as among the anti-rationalists, there is a wide spectrum of opinion—all advocates displaying, however, a common tendency. We see it in its mildest and perhaps incipient form in such a program as the Mothers March for Peace—which, in contrast to its contemporary organizations, seemed to represent nothing so much as the reflection of, and demand for, genuinely *emotional* response to the horrors of war. But the Mothers March was perhaps mere prologue, with its plea for attending the affective dimensions of problems inevitably intellectualized and abstracted when pursued as affairs of state. Subsequent reformists have demanded a far more prominent role for the affective. Witness again, for example, testimony at Princeton for political hysteria in preference to "cool reasonableness." It came, incidentally, not from a youngster, but a professor at Harvard.

This preoccupation with feeling, and the demand for continuous passionate engagement, seems to represent one feature of the new reformism's two-pronged ideological base. The second part consists in an almost wholesale rejection of our sociopolitical system—government, of course, but also other major institutions as well. Most important, what is rejected—rendering the new reformism actually far more revolutionary than reformist in character—are the procedural provisions regulating the way all particular decisions are made.

American theorists have gloried in the claim that our political system permits of and virtually even *institutionalizes* change—allowing for extensive alterations, while taking as its only constant or unalterable arrangements, the procedural: the broad outline, that is, of *how* we shall decide. Thus, it is doubly significant that this decision process itself is perhaps a major target of the new reformism.

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] George B. Leonard. "A New Liberal Manifesto." *Look* 32 (11): 27; May 28, 1968.

This, it appears, is precisely what is at stake in "confrontation" politics, the program increasingly pursued by the new reformism. The strategy seems to be to force particular decisions directly, thus circumventing or reversing the legal processes by which the issues would otherwise be resolved.

There is nothing radically new, of course, in a minority's resort to direct action in attempting to wrest or assure its own rights as against those of a majority. What does seem relatively new, however, is the extension of such measures to apply also in other situations, resulting in attempts to compel majority performance when minority rights are not primarily or prominently at issue. To cite several examples: the demand that Afro-American history courses be offered in schools can easily be read as an insistence on minority rights; the demand that such courses be made compulsory for all students is something else. While even opponents might be willing to understand the first demand as an assertion of minority rights, the second seems to represent a new construction of minority entitlement—and a construction it is hard to reconcile with a commitment to the majority's right to govern itself.

Similarly, the assertion of one's right to refuse to be drafted is one thing; a demonstration denying anyone admission to an induction center is another. Or again, the boycotting and picketing of a meeting is a time-honored privilege; its disruption to the point where it cannot occur at all has not been. (It is not that our history has been devoid of such attempts. What does seem new and qualitatively different, however, is, on the one hand, the morally righteous posture assumed by the perpetrators, and on the other, the tolerance which has met such efforts. It was, after all, not so many years ago that we associated such measures only with those "kooks" and sneaker-shod old ladies populating what was then described as a "lunatic fringe.")

Thus, the new reformism seems to advance a view that is antithetically opposed to traditional decision-making arrangements. It should be noted that the denunciations and rejections of what may loosely be called "democratic procedure" are not limited to the extravagances of a few, or the excesses of frenzied moments. The opposition to democratic processes is both frequent and predictable, because it is built right into the ideology which directs many of the new reformists. Both Herbert Marcuse, the philosopher-prophet of the New Left, and Frantz Fanon, the intellectual sire of black militancy, argue in effect that reform—pursued within the system and according to its rules—is simply impossible.[7] Significant reform requires systemic change tantamount to revolution. For in order to succeed at all, dissidents must reject the entire system, and with it, the ground rules which sustain and make it possible.

Role of Education

And what is education to make of all this? If anti-rationalism and the new reformism are the emerging ideologies they seem to be, what should be the posture of the schools with regard to the new *Weltanschauung*? In one sense, of course, the question comes after the fact—for schools in many metropolitan areas have already felt the effects of the new reformism.

But whether or not we can really control all of these effects, we can certainly question their desirability and the acceptability of the ideologies inspiring the events.

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[7] Marcuse's case is generally to the effect that the all-powerful system has absorbed effective opposition, turning the very instruments and processes of dissent to its own advantage and support. Fanon's argument is that the condition existing between colonizer and native is total opposition or war. In consequence, it is a situation which cannot be discussed, compromised, adjudicated, or otherwise politically and peaceably resolved. Force is the only recourse. (Militants have rendered Fanon's work on colonial nations relevant, by likening the situation of blacks in this country to that of the natives of a colonized state.)

I am afraid I find little potentially positive contribution in that part of the new reformism seeking to scrap democratic processes. History has seen too many instances of ends which at some subsequent point in time are supposed to justify and exonerate whatever means have been used in their attainment. Irrespective of the forcefulness of the arguments of Marcuse and Fanon—and they are, indeed, forceful—I fear the abandonment of procedural democracy, because that may well reintroduce all the old-fashioned tyrannies democracy evolved to prevent.

If we scrap democracy's procedures for decision making, the only thing that remains to be seen is whether the ensuing despotism will prove benevolent or otherwise—unless, of course, the new reformists have devised an improved alternative, with new protections and safeguards. And sadly, the chances are that they have not. For not only are their mentors silent on this point, but the followers seem not yet to have come to the question. It is precisely at this point that the two features of the new reformism considered here come together in ominous combination. For on the one hand we have the opponent of democracy's processes—the revolutionary who is willing to use whatever force is necessary to overthrow present institutions and procedural guarantees; and on the other hand, he also represents irrationalism—telling us, in effect, "I don't know what to substitute. We will destroy first—and only *then* decide what to build in its place."

Yet the irrationalism by itself may have real virtues. For insofar as the movement represents a recommendation to the effect that in our personal lives we pay greater heed to emotion, perhaps it is a message many of us need. And insofar as the new reformism represents the extension of the anti-rationalism to regulate our impersonal negotiations and interactions—among groups, institutions, and states—possibly this, too, is a message we should hear very attentively. For there may be few better hopes for ending war, poverty, and injustice than to bring to them the kind of feeling and resolve we would surely experience if those we loved were the victims. Surely in this sense, the anti-rationalism of contemporary reformism has much to offer.

More directly, a considerable part of the irrationalist message may have something important to say—and perhaps it is just the antidote for those of us who are least able to recognize it! For it is surely the case that the traditional liberal has been reared on the counsel that he should distrust his emotions. Indeed, much of what he was taught with respect to finding out, concluding, and deciding was designed precisely for the purpose of counteracting and compensating for his preferences and biases, and thus assuring they did not lead him away from truth and down false byways.

This, after all, is exactly what we in education have been up to as we have dedicated ourselves to teaching children "how to think," or to "think critically," or to be "intelligent problem solvers." We have adopted, and tried to adapt to all life's circumstances and demands, the methods of science—particularly as enunciated by John Dewey, who was, after all, a consummate rationalist with unlimited faith in the power of reason and knowledge to guide man and enhance his state.

Perhaps it is the case, then, as anti-rationalism contends, that we have vastly oversold ourselves on reason's promise, as well as on its pervasive relevance to all life's circumstances.

If this be so, what ought education to be and do? Hopefully, we can arrive at some proper "mix" of reason and emotion for man—in his life, and consequently in that part of equipping him for it that we call education. It is not, of course, a new problem—for philosophy or for education. Yet it is surely one that acquires new urgency from the ideological currents examined here. And just as surely, to propose that we evolve some appropriate *mixture* of the intellectual and affective for man and his instruction is a rather weak solution. For not only is it no solution at all: It even fails to direct us in seeking one (or, indeed, recognizing one should we stumble upon it). How does one appropriately conduct the search: looking primarily to reason or to emotion as guide? With only a handful of exceptions, the Western philosophical tradition all the way from Plato to Dewey would have agreed on reason as the proper instrument. It is precisely because of the revolutionary character and impact of the ideas examined here that we no longer enjoy such agreement. ☐

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Religion in the School: What Are the Alternatives?

CHARLES C. CHANDLER

IN JUNE of 1963 the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Abington* v. *Schempp* and *Murray* v. *Curlett* that devotional exercises and the reading of the Bible in public schools for religious purposes were unconstitutional. Since such practices were common in many areas of the United States, the public outcries and controversies occasioned by the decision were not unexpected.

Although this decision was far-reaching in its implications, it was in a sense anticlimactic. Much of the emotional and intellectual energy of the American people had been spent in the prolonged and heated debates triggered by the 1962 Court decision outlawing the New York State Board of Regents prayer.

While both the 1962 and 1963 rulings have ultimately received the support of numerous religious and secular organizations, one still hears charges that the Supreme Court is undermining our religious faith, that the Court, far from being neutral, is in fact promoting irreligion. Scores of resolutions proposing to amend the Constitution so as to allow "non-sectarian" religious practices in public schools have been brought before the Congress.

How have educators responded to these Court decisions? Understandably, school administrators and their boards of education have not been anxious to alter existing policies in a way that would further alienate an already aroused public. Beset by a multitude of problems, school people have been reluctant to examine the broad implications of the rulings. Rather, attention has been focused upon the specific "don'ts" of the decisions. In this regard some efforts have been made to bring school practices into line with the judicial dictates.

Yet the larger problem of the proper role of religion in public education remains unresolved. Perhaps this question can never be entirely answered until the American people have determined the role of religion in American life. Unfortunately, educators cannot await this answer as decisions must be made *now*. School policies must be developed now and not in some distant future.

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The Supreme Court has indicated what cannot be done, but it has properly refrained from specifying what should be done.

Alternatives

What, then, are some of the alternatives facing public education?

Maintaining the Status Quo

One alternative is to disregard or circumvent the decisions. This has taken many forms, from the open defiance of a state governor to the naïveté of the classroom teacher who could see no conflict between the Court verdict and her devotional exercises. This position apparently rests upon an assumption that under the present circumstances of local support and control, a school cannot defy the wishes of the local community. If the majority of citizens in a community want religious practices continued, then it is unrealistic, perhaps improper, for educational leadership to oppose such desires.

This is the kind of reasoning which defends released time on school property in scores of American communities despite Court rulings prohibiting such practices. While there is always a danger of becoming too legalistic, we cannot accept a position which openly teaches the young to disobey the law, a position which reflects a bankruptcy of moral and educational leadership.

A Religion of Secularism

A second position, diametrically opposed to the first, would abolish all references to religion in the public schools. Some have gone so far as to argue that even moral and spiritual values should not be deliberately taught. So long as our religiously pluralistic society can reach no consensus concerning the role of religion in education, the prudent policy for educators is to do nothing about religion. Whatever is attempted in this area will be severely criticized by certain groups in the community.

Even teaching about religion will lead to controversy, and controversy in matters of religion is to be assiduously avoided. Whatever the public relations merits of this position, it must be rejected. Such a policy would have teachers compromise the integrity of the various subjects in the curriculum. It would for example discourage, if not prohibit, teaching about the Reformation and the medieval church. It would prevent the use of religious books in literature classes. Courses in comparative religion would not be possible.

Such a policy moreover violates the spirit of recent Court decisions. In the Abington case the Supreme Court declared that the state must be neutral in matters of religion. The state may not establish a "religion of secularism." The school cannot favor those "who believe in no religion over those who do believe." Finally, this alternative really pleases no one. Parents want our public schools to do something about religion. If the public schools fail to meet this demand, it will undoubtedly lead to a proliferation of parochial schools, both Protestant and Catholic, and a continuing dissatisfaction with public education.

Teaching About Religion

Many who recognize the inadequacies of the preceding two positions have attempted to chart a kind of middle course. They have recognized that the public school has a responsibility in the realm of religion. At the same time they have sought to avoid the sectarian practices barred by the Court.

Their solution has been to have the school teach about religion whenever such teaching is consistent with the objectives of a particular subject field. Thus no social studies teacher could properly omit the role of religion in the development of the American culture. Under this approach the Bible and other religious materials could be studied so long as the purpose was not to indoctrinate or commit the student to a particular religious view.

Moral and spiritual values would be taught, but in a secular rather than a supernatural context. These values would be taught as the values defining and undergirding the democratic way of life. Even courses in comparative religion would be consistent with this position. There is much to be said for teaching about religion. It would do much to eliminate the religious illiteracy which plagues our people. It also recognizes the school's important responsibility in dealing directly and deliberately with moral and spiritual values. Those communities desiring sectarian teaching could combine this approach with a released time or shared time program.

Under present circumstances teaching about religion may be the only practicable way to treat religion in the public school. Yet like the other alternatives it fails to come to grips with the more vital significance of religion in the life of a people. Much of the public reaction to the Supreme Court decisions reveals how shallow and trivial our religious life has become.

Who would have supposed that the value of religion in education lay in the perfunctory reading of a Bible passage or in the mechanical recitation of a prayer? The Supreme Court has perhaps rendered a valuable service in challenging us to reconsider the function and purpose of religion in our national life. It has given educators an opportunity to develop a program which goes beyond a sacramental conception of religion.

Religion as a Quest

We assume that all men by virtue of being human are concerned with the ultimate inscrutability of the universe, concerned with a universe forever shrouded in mystery. All men are concerned with the meaning of existence, with the problem of death, with the nature and sanctions of values, with conceptions of the good life, with the question of evil, and with a whole host of similar concerns that relate to the efforts of man to find meaning in his life.

These ultimate concerns must not be viewed as the exclusive property of organized religion. On the contrary, they are as much the business of the school as of the church. These concerns belong to all men, to all institutions, to all societies, to all periods of time. They represent the perennial quest of man for meaning, recognition, identity, and happiness.

While it is incumbent upon teachers to deal with such matters, it is of course impossible and undesirable for the school to approach such questions in a spirit of dogmatic certainty. Whatever the merits of such an approach for organized religion, it cannot be the objective of public education. The school must emphasize the quest. It must focus upon the questions and give students opportunities and encouragement to make choices and to find answers.

It is, for example, the responsibility of secondary school teachers, especially literature and social studies teachers, to involve students in a consideration of the nature and sanctions of moral conduct. The aim would be to involve the student in moral choices so as to elicit personal responses.

The fact that organized religion is also concerned with moral conduct seems irrelevant, although the insights and points of view provided by religions are among the viable alternatives open to students.

Other vital experiences and concerns of man should be treated in a similar fashion. Death, for example, haunts all men. The way man views death influences the quality of his existence, the manner in which he lives his life. Such an important event in the life of a man cannot be neglected in the education of man. An education which disregards that which is ultimately important runs the grave risk of elevating in importance that which is, in the final analysis, of less consequence.

Such an approach requires teachers who understand the nature, function, and content of religion. More important, it asks the teacher to see his responsibility as involving something more than transmitting knowledge. The teacher, it is suggested, should have the capacity to enter into a personal relationship with his students. He should have an understanding and concern for the crucial experiences which will define the lives of his students. Unfortunately, teacher education has been woefully negligent in its responsibilities in this area.

Our present graduates are not only religiously illiterate, but for the most part they have been denied the opportunities to think deeply about matters which are deemed of ultimate importance in the life of man. Most of them have mastered bodies of knowledge but have not reacted personally to this knowledge. The accumulated knowledge has not become part of a life style. In short the knowledge has not made a difference in the way life is approached and lived. □

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National Practices in Teaching *About* Religion

ALAN GORR

AS A preliminary step of a larger project to set up evaluative criteria for judging public high school courses which teach about religion, some statistics relating to general practice were gathered as well. In all, 3,414 public high schools were surveyed. This represents the total number of schools which have been accredited by the five regional accrediting associations [1] and which have 1,000 or more students. The survey was administered by postcards with an attached reply and sent to the principals of the high schools. The survey contained eight questions which bear upon the subject of general practices.

Since the objective of the study was somewhat different from earlier surveys, it is difficult to compare the findings. Still the reader may desire to consult Dierenfield's earlier work in this area.[2] The initial statement of the survey read, "We (do) (do not) have a course which teaches about religion objectively." This set the tone for the questionnaire, which may have been new and unique by excluding those courses which were not aimed at objectivity. Among the 1,780 (52.1%) of the schools which answered the survey, 857 (48.1%) answered that they did, while 923 (51.8%) did not.

The second statement asked whether religion was taught as a separate course or as a unit of a course. In 743 (41.7%) of the schools it was taught as a unit. Those teaching it as a separate course numbered 102 (5.7%), and 10 (.6%) schools taught both units and courses.

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[1] The five regional accrediting associations are: Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Inc.; North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools; and Western Association of Schools and Colleges.

[2] Richard B. Dierenfield. "The Impact of the Supreme Court Decisions on the Public Schools." *Religious Education* 67: 445-51; January-February 1967.

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Several Categories

The units and courses in religion fell under several headings, and in many schools several categories applied. Of the schools responding, 539 (30.2%) included study about religion in their courses on world history. Those which included units in world literature courses numbered 88 (4.9%). Units were included in humanities in 206 (11.6%) of the schools. Another 316 (17.7%) listed the names of their courses about religion under the category "other," which included a list of over 80 different courses.

Concerning the distribution of the courses and units by grades, 177 (9.9%) indicated that the study of religion was found in the ninth grade. In the tenth grade, 529 (29.7%) reported courses or units in religion. In the eleventh grade the number of schools was 282 (15.8%); while in the twelfth grade it was 463 (26.0%). Since schools were asked to indicate all categories which applied, there was inevitably some overlap.

Faiths Included

With regard to the varieties of Christianity which were included in the course of study, 742 (41.6%) indicated that they treated Catholicism. Mormonism was considered by 470 (26.4%). Units about the Protestant faith were taught by about 745 (41.8%) of the schools. The number of schools which treated "other" Christian groups was 170 (9.5%).

The variety of non-Christian faiths which were studied was quite large. Buddhism was treated by 718 (40.3%). Hinduism was covered by 710 (39.8%). Judaism was considered by 732 (41.1%). Schools teaching about Islam numbered 730 (41.0%). Shintoism was treated in 526 (29.5%) schools and Taoism in 525 (29.5%). Schools listing "other" world religions numbered 116 (6.5%).

Of the total number of respondents, 243 (13.6%) indicated that they used printed course outlines or curriculum guides in their courses. Considering the total number of schools which teach about religion, this number is rather small.

Among the schools surveyed, 243 (13.6%) reported that they had printed curricular materials. The remaining 1,536 (86.2%) did not.

There are several conclusions which may be drawn from the survey about the extent and distribution of study about religion. First, nearly half of all schools claimed to be teaching about religion objectively. Of that number, virtually all teach about a wide variety of religions. The difference among those schools which taught about Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Islam was negligible. In fact, the average school nominally taught about 7.4 religions in more than one course. Ostensibly, this would indicate a conscious effort to give the courses which teach about religion a wide scope.

Another conclusion which may be drawn from the data is that schools consider the study about religion as appropriate for several contexts. This is evidenced by the fact that, on the average, schools which do include study about religion include religion in more than one course.

In sum, it appears that study about religion is widespread and encompasses a wide variety of subjects and course frameworks. Relatively few schools devote an entire course to the subject or have gone so far as to produce written curricular materials. ☐

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The Impact of Court Decisions on Educational Strategies

(An Editorial)

EDGAR FULLER

MOST leaders in education are well acquainted with the legislative and administrative branches of governments and their local, state, and federal relationships to public education. The judicial branch is different. It seldom benefits from their understanding and participation. To all but a few, the courts seem remote, mysterious in making their surprising impacts on the schools, too technical to be understood, and too independent to be amenable to the views of most citizens.

On the basis of such mixed reasons and suppositions, most citizens and professional leaders in education seldom interest themselves in the making of public policy in education through the courts. The judiciary incubates great educational strategies and shapes the future by its mandates, while most educational leadership busily pursues less demanding routines.

Important court decisions surprise the leaders who habitually fail to participate in judicial planning in ways entirely appropriate for any citizen. Too often educators and other friends of public education avoid being plaintiffs, or defendants, or policy makers, or planners, or professional, political, and financial supporters of judicial action to uphold what they privately profess to believe in education. Fearful of criticism, this ostrichlike, vital concern of their lives is too often spent in isolation from the judiciary. There is massive unwillingness to synthesize and express principles in written or spoken forms, to contribute personal learning time and financial resources, or to work quietly and wait for a few years to achieve fundamentally important judicial results.

Courts are not remote from education. They are important determiners of some of its most basic strategies. Public education is a part of government at all levels, and private education is also subject to the minimum educational and institutional standards prescribed by local, state, and federal laws within the fundamental constitutional limitations that apply.

The most important legal questions in education involve how the First Amendment to the Constitution will be applied to public and private institutions of education. In tax-supported public institutions the question is usually whether denominational religion is present. The Supreme Court has defined the constitutional limitations of religion in public schools [1] in considerable detail in re-

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[1] *Abington School District* v. *Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203 (1963) and cases cited. The relevant part of the First Amendment is as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." It has been applied to state and local governments through judicial construction of the Fourteenth Amendment since 1940.

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cent years. This has been due to the fact that taxpayers have had standing to sue in these cases, as they have in most other instances involving civil rights.

A different line of constitutional litigation deals with use of tax-raised funds for individual benefits to pupils or teachers. The First Amendment question here is whether there is unconstitutional direct or indirect aid to sectarian institutions when the funds have been directed primarily to their pupils or teachers. Health, welfare, and safety benefits, such as those which fall within the Welfare Clause and the reserved police powers of the states under the Tenth Amendment, are general rights of all the people. These constitutional rights become involved with First Amendment applications to education in ways that require judicial determinations.

Some prevailing judicial guidelines can be illustrated. Tax-raised funds for health services and school lunches for private school pupils, and for scholarships under the so-called GI Bills, are not issues under the First Amendment. Public tax funds for pupil transportation, textbooks, library materials, and some types of remedial instruction are constitutionally controversial. Use of tax-raised funds for regular salaries of sectarian school teachers or for sectarian school facilities or equipment is unconstitutional.

There have been no decisions and only a few dicta that differentiate on First Amendment grounds the use of tax-raised funds by college-level institutions from the use of such funds by elementary and secondary educational institutions. Most state constitutions and laws bar the use of tax-raised educational funds for nonpublic educational institutions at all academic levels, whether they are commercial, nonprofit private, or sectarian. Thus state and local tax funds are not used directly to support sectarian educational institutions, although nonprofit private secular institutions of higher education in a few states receive limited state funds. State constitutions and laws, however, have not prevented federal uses of tax-raised funds in direct violation of state and local legal standards of public use set for state and local funds.

The Rule of *Frothingham* v. *Mellon*

In regard to private nonprofit secular and sectarian institutions, the usual question is whether tax-raised funds may be used for financing such institutions directly or indirectly. This situation remains to be clarified constitutionally because federal taxpayers, until 1968, were barred from the federal courts on the basis of a 1923 Supreme Court decision holding that they had no standing to sue under the First Amendment to prevent expenditures of federal funds.[2]

During the past decade the federal government has made increasingly large grants of tax funds and gifts of federal property to nonprofit private, secular, and sectarian educational institutions. On March 28, 1961, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with the approval of the U.S. Attorney General, released a comprehensive legal memorandum on First Amendment implications of these federal practices.[3] This memorandum advised that federal taxpayers were not being allowed to sue in the federal courts on First Amendment cases, and that although some of the federal aids to education were admittedly of uncertain constitutionality, Congress could continue these and other aids to sectarian institutions of education without substantial danger of having to defend its practices in the courts. The memorandum concluded that since federal spending legislation ordinarily carried no provisions for judicial review, "In the absence of some such statutory provisions, there appears to be no realistic likelihood that Federal legislation raising the constitutional issues discussed in this memorandum will be resolved by judicial decision."[4]

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[2] *Frothingham* v. *Mellon,* 262 U.S. 447 (1923).

[3] Memorandum on the Impact of the First Amendment to the Constitution Upon Federal Aid to Education, signed by Alanson W. Willcox, general counsel of the HEW Department.

Until 1968, Congress and the President made their own constitutional law on the major First Amendment question in education. One might also believe this has been true in the field of civil rights enforcement, where guidelines were not printed in the Federal Register as regulations having the force of law. Enforcement of such administrative guidelines has been upheld by the courts, including penalties withholding all federal funds from school districts that have not met specific federal mandates to desegregate schools. These situations, however, should not be confused with the First Amendment cases. In civil rights, the courts approved fund withholding for violation of guidelines because the courts themselves approved of those methods of enforcement. In the First Amendment cases involving federal funds for sectarian institutions, however, the courts have held that they had no jurisdiction to make constitutional decisions at all because no one was in a position to achieve standing to sue in the federal courts.

On June 10, 1968, the Supreme Court substantially reversed the Frothingham rule in an eight-to-one decision.[5] Speaking through Chief Justice Warren, the Court suggested that the Frothingham rule rests on something less than a constitutional foundation.

The Court said the law is that a federal taxpayer has standing to ". . . invoke federal judicial power when he alleges that Congressional action under the taxing and spending clause is in derogation of those constitutional provisions which operate to restrict the exercise of the taxing and spending power." The taxpayer must establish a logical link between his taxpayer status and the legislative enactment he attacks, and establish another logical link between his taxpayer status and the precise nature of the constitutional infringement he alleges. No personal financial loss is any longer necessary. It is enough that the federal government may be favoring one religion over another or aiding religion in general. The Court held that the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment is a specific constitutional limitation on the taxing and spending powers of Congress.

It is significant that 15 Connecticut taxpayers filed a suit in the U.S. District Court in New Haven on September 26, 1968, challenging the constitutionality of federal grants for educational facilities in four sectarian colleges and universities under the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment.

This is a suit almost identical in its facts to a suit filed on September 10, 1963, by a group of individual Maryland taxpayers and sponsored by the Horace Mann League.[6] Brought in a Maryland county court because the Frothingham rule then barred the suit in the federal courts, four private liberal arts colleges were the substantive defendants. Grants of state funds had been voted by the Maryland legislature for physical facilities similar to those financed in the Connecticut colleges by the federal government, and both cases were brought specifically under the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

In the decision of the highest Maryland Court handed down June 2, 1966, the criteria for ascertaining whether an institution of education is sectarian were adopted by the court as recommended by a witness for the Horace Mann League. The Court applied the criteria and judged that three of the defendant colleges were sectarian and one secular. The Supreme Court refused to review the case in November 1966, so the Maryland decision became effective only for state and local funds in Maryland. Now that federal taxpayers can sue in the federal courts, these or newly developed criteria can be applied to the agencies of the federal government.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[5] *Flast* v. *Cohen*, Case No. 416, October Term, 1967.

[6] *Horace Mann League* v. *Board of Public Works*, 242 Md. 645, 220 A. 2nd 51 (1966).

The New York State Textbook Case

Another important decision of the Supreme Court handed down on June 10, 1968, involved a New York law requiring local school authorities to lend textbooks on secular subjects to students in grades 7 through 12 in both public and nonpublic schools. In a six-to-three decision, Justice White [7] spoke for the Court in holding the state textbook law constitutional under the First Amendment. Justice Harlan concurred with the majority in a separate opinion and added that he would uphold cases where the contested governmental activity is calculated to achieve nonreligious purposes and does not involve the state "so significantly and directly in the realm of the sectarian as to give rise to . . . divisive influences and inhibitions of freedom." [8] Justices Black, Douglas, and Fortas dissented vigorously in separate opinions.

The Allen case falls on the permissive side of most previous decisions of the courts that have involved the use of tax-raised funds for auxiliary benefits to individuals. It draws the line for individual benefits rather generously, and has some importance as a judicial indicator in such cases. Justice White, however, based the decision squarely upon the record before the Supreme Court, which contained no factual evidence because the lower court had entered a summary judgment on the pleadings. With no evidence in the record the decision was necessarily a narrow one. Justice White assumed on the basis of background of judgment and experience, unchallenged in the meager record before the Court, that parochial schools are performing acceptably both their sectarian and secular functions. His comment on the lack of factual evidence in the record before the Court made clear the importance of such evidence in cases to come:

> Nothing in this record supports the proposition that all textbooks, whether they deal with mathematics, physics, foreign languages, history, or literature, are used by the parochial schools to teach religion. No evidence has been offered about particular schools, particular courses, particular teachers, or particular books. We are unable to hold, based solely on judicial notice, that this statute results in unconstitutional involvement of the State with religious instruction or that Sec. 701, for this or the other reasons urged, is a law respecting the establishment of religion within the meaning of the First Amendment.[9]

Detailed evidence presented at length in the Horace Mann League case and elsewhere tends to show that sectarian religion can and does permeate sectarian institutions and influences their effects on students, just as many of these institutions claim in their institutional purposes. The denominational environment, the faculty, the religious exercises and courses required of students, and a sectarian approach to the teaching of secular subjects are among the hallmarks of sectarian educational institutions. They are justly proud of achieving their aims, and the sole concern of the First Amendment cases is that such religious achievements be privately rather than publicly financed.

Educational Reasons for the First Amendment

Volumes have been written on the historical reasons that Madison and Jefferson pioneered legal restrictions on the use of public funds for the support of religion, first in Virginia and then in the U.S. Constitution. Religious conflict has been common for many centuries, and complete tolerance among differing religious groups remains more an ideal than a practice. If one believes in universal education for every individual according to his needs, he must have recourse to public education. With full freedom for private education privately supported as long as it meets the minimum requirements of the state for secular education, it is imperative to have strongly financed and publicly supported education for all who desire it. From the history of nations concerning the performance of private education everywhere, there is no reason to believe that our society can achieve the education it needs without effective public schools.

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[7] *Board of Education of Central School District No. 1 et al.* v. *James E. Allen, Jr.*, as Commissioner of Education of New York *et al.*, Case No. 660, October Term, 1967.

[8] Quoted from *Abington School District* v. *Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203, p. 307 (1963).

[9] *Ibid.*

In our pluralistic society religious conflict is entirely unnecessary in reaching an acceptable balance between Free Exercise and the Establishment Clause in education. The sponsors of the Horace Mann League case entered the courts for purely educational reasons. It was a suit brought by educators on behalf of education for all children and youth. No funds were sought or accepted from religious denominations. Religious conflict was carefully avoided. Members of all leading religions were sought as plaintiffs. Great care was exercised to praise the defendant institutions, the quality of their work, and the admirable integrity of their teaching according to their purposes. Only one issue separated plaintiffs and defendants—whether educational institutions that teach the tenets of a religious denomination, and are appropriately controlled and financed privately for that purpose under the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment, should receive grants of tax-raised funds for their support. Why this is a crucial educational issue deserves a brief comment.

Importance for Effective Public Education

Comprehensive public education of high quality requires general public interest and political support, as well as adequate local, state, and federal financing. In our country it is organized flexibly in thousands of local school districts exercising substantial controls over school operations. In turn, local districts in the several states constitute 50 substantially autonomous state systems of education with freedom to develop 50 statewide experimental laboratories in the practical operation of education.

This system can and does vary widely from district to district and from state to state. It operates close to the people, with the stimulation and support that intermediate service units, states, and the federal government can and do supply. At the local level this education system thrives on the exercise of local autonomy and its inevitable ferment and disagreements. The local-state-federal arrangements stimulate progress without serious or widespread dangers to the fundamental public support necessary for effective operation.

Privately supported and controlled secular and sectarian schools are constitutionally protected and widely patronized as alternatives to or competitors of the public schools. They are a wholesome influence, but only up to the point where they divide the community in ways that may cause the loss of high quality public education for all the children and youth who desire it and can benefit from it.

Public education would be greatly weakened should sectarian and other nonpublic educational institutions obtain large amounts of tax-raised funds. Efforts are being made in Washington and in selected states that might bring this about if the courts uphold legislation already in effect in tests under the First Amendment. The federal approaches take several forms, including essentially unrestricted general development cash grants to private secular and sectarian colleges. The state laws would funnel state funds to parents for transfer to private schools on a per capita basis. Some of the sponsors of such state legislation frankly seek complete financial equality with publicly controlled schools in terms of tax-raised funds.

The decline of the public schools would depend largely on the size of the tax fund incentives offered to expand or to begin private schools at public expense. With much less than full tax support at public school levels, the public schools would no longer be effective. A proliferation of nonprofit corporations to operate schools for special social, political, or economic interests and viewpoints would supplement schools under the jurisdiction of many religious denominations.

Should these conditions result from approval of federal subsidies upheld by the courts under the First Amendment, state and local governments would probably be unable to restrict state and local tax funds to publicly controlled educational institutions. With secular and sectarian schools eligible for federal funds, federal funds for public schools might eventually be conditioned upon state and local financial matching of federal funds for private schools. The public schools as a unifying force in a democracy would, in the process, have become history. □

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Some Observations on Adolescent Drug Use

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> The sufferer is tremulous and loses his self-command; he is subject to fits of agitation and depression. He has a haggard appearance . . . as with other such agents, a renewed dose . . . gives temporary relief, but at the cost of future misery.

THIS description of the effects of coffee was written at the beginning of this century by a professor at Cambridge University, the most distinguished pharmacologist of the time, in a standard medical textbook. In any analysis of the use of drugs, because of the intense passions aroused, it is useful to keep close to the forefront of one's attention the radical change in attitude toward this now-common beverage that the most informed medical opinion has undergone in the past 50 years. Hopefully, it will provide a perspective that will engender a more thoughtful and less emotional consideration of these substances.

The observations and conclusions which follow are based on experience with a large number of adolescent drug users, most, but not all, middle class. The majority were seen in a clinical setting, some over an extended period of time. Many others were speaking in wide-ranging, informal discussions and not in the role of patient.

This discussion will be concerned with most of the spectrum usually considered subject to abuse, with one exception. The discussion will include both those totally prohibited—such as the opiates, cocaine, the hallucinogens, and cannabis derivatives—and those in general use, but subject to control, mainly the amphetamines and barbiturates. It will also touch on the almost infinite range of volatile organic solvents used for sniffing; for example, glue, gasoline, and cleaning fluid. The lone exception referred to is alcohol. Although its use is increasingly

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associated with that of other drugs, it is in a secondary position; the primary abuse of alcohol in this population does not fit the patterns described.

Users distinguish between two general classes, the "ups" and the "downs." In the former group are cocaine, the hallucinogens, amphetamines, solvents, and, usually, cannabis. In the latter group are the opiates, the barbiturates, tranquilizers, and, for some people, cannabis derivatives. Within these two general categories, users, even "garbage collectors" who will take anything, are generally aware of differences among the drugs. Thus opiates are referred to as "hard stuff," and the popular button reading "Speed Kills" is a reference to the danger of the amphetamines. Barbiturates are known not to mix with alcohol, even in small amounts. The absence of any established long or short term ill effects from cannabis is recognized and frequently quoted, and the latest findings of LSD research are widely known and discussed.

It is generally unwise to attempt to deter young people from drug use by scare tactics; any audience will invariably contain at least one listener who is as knowledgeable as the speaker, if not more so. Further, the scare approach can itself be held at least partially responsible for some of the experimentation with these drugs; many young people see friends and acquaintances taking them without the predicted deleterious results, and come to disbelieve all the dire warnings they have been given about drugs. This absence of apparent consequence, perhaps more than any other factor, has made many youngsters skeptical of warnings about the dangers of drug abuse. This can even be true with "hard" drugs, for any large metropolitan community will have more than a few adolescents who have used opiates fairly heavily for extended periods of time and who have encountered no difficulty in stopping when the drug was no longer available or became too difficult to obtain.

Drug usage cuts across population barriers, although the pattern of usage differs among social groups. The use of cannabis and the opiates among the lower class ghetto residents is an old phenomenon and has been extensively described. Its use by middle and upper class youth is relatively new and is probably the single factor most responsible for the current upsurge in community concern about drugs and their effects. Until recently, it was generally accepted as strictly a matter for the police and the Narcotics Bureau; now, more people are growing concerned as the issue becomes more immediate, with their children becoming involved in drug use.

Adolescent users seem to fall into several different categories. While the heavy use of opiates and cannabis by the ghetto population has led to the conclusion that drugs are mainly used to escape from the miserable reality of the users' lives, careful study has revealed consistent differences between the personalities of true addicts and non-addicts (who may be casual users). Briefly summarized, the former have a significant degree of shortsightedness in their judgment; their capacity for decision making and purposeful action is seriously limited; they see themselves mainly in negative terms; they are unable to form genuinely intimate relationships; they are closely tied to their mothers; and they are often badly confused about their sexual feelings. That the sociological aspects of drug use in this class have been emphasized in relative contrast to the individual aspects is perhaps a reflection of the broader society's appreciation of the close, almost causal, tie between the central elements of lower class ghetto life and the significant areas of disturbance in the personality of the addict, as well as some appreciation of the greater "need" for escape from the misery of this kind of life.

Drug Use and Social Class

This emphasis, however, should not lead us to overlook some of the similarities between users from this group and those from other social classes. In the middle and upper class population, adolescent users seem to fall into one of four categories.

The first group consists of those who, with or without the use of drugs, would be readily recognized as psychologically disturbed; members of this group show the greatest similarity in personality characteristics to the more carefully studied lower class addicts. These are youngsters whose difficulties, should one trouble to look closely, clearly antedated any exposure to drugs, who on close examination show fairly disturbed patterns of family relationships, and for whom the drugs often represent an effort at restitution. For them the drug usage is almost incidental and is not likely to be terminated until the underlying disturbance begins to be altered. The "garbage collectors" almost invariably come from this group, as they frantically try anything in the medicine chest—or outside of it—for the sought-after effect.

The major element that drugs provide for this group is a sense of vitality. The ordinary experience of self for these youth is one of an inner void. Any of these drugs, to the extent that they alter internal perceptions, replace this void with some kind of feeling, so necessary for the sense of being alive. While this can be readily mistaken as a search for "kicks," there is an urgency to it that belies such a limited interpretation, that suggests a more profound role for these substances in the individual's functioning, perhaps analogous to that of the medically prescribed tranquilizers in another situation. This is one reason that exhortation is not very successful with them. When it comes to the difference between feeling alive and feeling dead, they, along with most of us, opt to feel alive.

The second group, and probably the largest, is composed of the faddists, those who will take almost any drug in a social situation because that is what everyone else is doing, because it is the "in" thing to do. This group is composed mainly of cannabis users, with some trying the hallucinogens and amphetamines and occasionally even heroin. They use the drug as an avenue of gaining and reinforcing group acceptance, and they are relatively indifferent to the particular chemical or its distinctive effect. Their parents went on panty raids when they were in college and their grandparents swallowed live goldfish and patronized speakeasies. With this group it is important to note that while the "kick" obtained from the drug is appreciated, and even rhapsodized, it is a distinctly secondary factor in the use of the drug. It is the group pressure that determines the use and even much of the praise sung about it. If caught once, members of this group are likely to discontinue use, for fear of the consequences of being caught again. If not, use is likely to be self-limited anyway.

If these youths have any psychological handicap, it is in their generally narrow view of life and sheep-like tendency to follow the flock. Occasionally, one of them becomes profoundly depressed as a result of such experimentation with a hallucinogen, the effect of which was to make him aware that there is much more to life than his contricted, limiting perspective had allowed him to see until then. The depression was a result of the realization of how much living he had missed and how much work he would have to do to make up for it. For these youths, the drug provided a therapeutic experience, despite themselves.

The third group, perhaps the next largest, is made up of those that use primarily cannabis and the hallucinogens. They often start using them out of curiosity and continue to use them intermittently because they find them helpful in clarifying personal questions with which they might be wrestling. They do not come to rely on these drugs to find answers or to resolve the developmental challenges of their adolescence; rather, the drugs are used as an occasional adjunct in this process. While adequate and satisfying friendships are consistently characteristic of members of this group, with their parents they may be cordial and friendly or in a state of armed truce with occasional skirmishes. Their academic performance ranges from outstanding to failing and usually parallels the tolerance of the school for experimentation and deviance, and the quality of its teachers. Most of the adolescents in this category seen clinically have been referred only because someone, usually their parents, panicked at the discovery that they were using drugs.

A final group of drug users, although constituted mainly of adults with relatively few adolescents, warrants mention, if only to complete the picture. This group is mainly composed of more mature people, to all appearances healthy and functioning well in the society in both their personal and occupational lives. Members of this group may or may not use cannabis and are focused mainly on the hallucinogens, which they take occasionally. For these people, the drug appears to have provided an introduction to a transcendent dimension, foreign to ordinary experience.

The "hippie" group is a conglomerate, rather than a single type. It contains a large representation of the first, more disturbed, group.

Many members of that second, faddist, group may present themselves as "hippie" for the same reasons they use drugs; it is the "in" thing. Occasionally members of the third group go through a personal crisis, often over philosophical issues, that leads to a temporary withdrawal into the "hippie" community; it has been reported that after about a year or two, they return to their previous state, often with more insight and maturity. For many, this may be an unavoidable stage in their development, similar to the perhaps more familiar and readily understood need of other youth in a similar state of crisis for a period of military service or for a routine, mindless job; both kinds of experience provide breathing spells, the "hippie" unstructured, the others clearly structured.

Significance in Living

As with earlier thinking about lower class drug use, understanding of the upsurge in drug usage among the middle and upper class adolescent population must be sought in the context of contemporary American society at least as much as in the individual psychology of the users. Furthermore, any explanation must also take into account why, for many, the movement has been in the direction of certain specific drugs, particularly cannabis and the hallucinogens, rather than alcohol.

The first, more disturbed, group of users delineated earlier is relatively small, and the use of drugs by those constituting this group is merely one item in a spectrum of deviant and disordered behavior; for them, the societal factors, while present, are secondary. For the second, faddist, group, drug use is itself secondary to a simple group phenomenon; and the choice of a drug other than alcohol for this purpose is primarily a function of the ready availability of the drugs and the shock and horror with which these substances, in contrast to alcohol, are regarded by a large segment of the adult authorities, against whom at least some of the behavior is directed.

It is for the third group that an understanding of the primary factors in drug use is to be found in the context of the broader society. In this third group, the use of drugs can be related to a phenomenon widespread in the population, namely, a search for greater self-understanding and significance in living; an effort to escape the alienation, the confusion, and the uncertainty so rampant in contemporary society; and a wish to become able to grasp the presence of the moment and live their lives, even the most prosaic moments of them, fully and with immediacy. While the extraordinary vogue experienced by psychoanalysis during the past two decades was, in part, a prelude to this, the phenomenon has exploded in the past few years with the development of a wide range of activities, all of which have, as a goal, increased self-awareness.

One factor which may account for the current increased need for this kind of experience is that, despite the constants of human existence and relatedness, the contemporary world, the world in which the present adolescent and young adult generation grew up, and which helped shape their mode of living, has undergone such massive structural change during the past decades, as Marshall McLuhan has attempted to describe, that the context in which these constants are lived out is qualitatively different from that which the older generation experienced in its development. The technology which has led to a threshold offering the alternatives of annihilation or abundance has radically changed life styles and, more subtly, the structure of the environment. And to the extent that all organisms in part are products of their environments, these youth and young adults are qualitatively different from the older generation. As a consequence, the reference standards applied in earlier years to assess situations are no longer felt to be relevant or even at all applicable for analyzing a contemporary problem.

In the confusion and uncertainty that ensue, anything will be welcomed that may intensify internal experience so as to bring into awareness heretofore unrecognized responses that may help in making an assessment of a complex and puzzling situation. Since self-awareness and understanding are their defined tasks, psychoanalysis and psychotherapy have been, in the recent past, a major direction in which people turned for help in these areas; however, they were, and continue to be, rejected by many because of the label of sickness associated with their use. More recently, other avenues have been explored for their self-discovery potential. Drugs, through their direct effects of heightening internal perceptions of sensation, thought, and feeling, represent one such avenue, albeit one condemned by the social order.

Group experiences represent another, more acceptable route, traveled at least as much by adults as by youth. These groups, known variously as T-groups, encounter groups, sensory awareness training, etc., are usually considered under the heading of "affective education" or "the human potential movement." They provide a setting in which a person can experience highly intensified and occasionally new, but otherwise appropriate reactions to a variety of prototypical situations. When he is angry, he is intensely so, and knows it; when he is anxious, when he is loving, when he is happy, he feels it so strongly that he cannot be mistaken. This enables the person to clarify his feelings and responses to these situations and to begin to generalize them to situations arising in the course of ordinary living. Eastern forms of meditation and related practices (of which yoga is probably the best known), through the insights and understanding to be gained from the conscious direction of attention inward, are other avenues to this same goal. More lonely and more difficult, demanding exceptional self-discipline, they have attracted many youth as well as adults. Much of the recent popular interest in Eastern philosophy may be consequent to a recognition of the potential of these teachings for enabling the practitioner to achieve the sought-after clarity.

These various approaches may also give direction to many of those who are distressed by the contrast between the values they have been taught and the quality of life they experience in their families and communities. For these people, in addition to self-understanding, the immediacy of the group experience provides a person with some sense of significance and worth in his human encounters; and meditation and drugs, by turning attention inward, provide some orientation in the search for answers to the eternal questions of meaning.

It is important to realize that there is not necessarily any change in values inherent in this situation; quite the contrary, the problem may be most acute when traditional values are clear and accepted, but the relative uniqueness of the situation creates uncertainty about how they should be applied. This dilemma is perhaps best illustrated by the issue of achievement, so often a focus of intergenerational conflict As a value, achievement has been one of the keystones of the American social order, yet many contemporary youth, by their disinterest, appear to be rejecting achievement in all areas, academic, economic, whatever. Even among many of those who are achieving, the question, "achievement for what?" is frequently heard—and is a source of distress to many parents.

This is a deceptive phenomenon; for underlying that question, and indeed the entire issue, can be found the question, "achievement at the expense of what?" They are not rejecting achievement; rather, aware of Donne's injunction that "No man is an island unto himself," they are concerned about the isolation which in their observation of the adult world has all too often been a direct and inevitable consequence of it. When added to this is their perception of the potential of technology for either enhancing the fulfillment of the individual or increasing his isolation, increasingly being applied in the latter direction, the state of their personal relationships demands greater attention, and efforts to avoid isolation become a matter of greater urgency. Thus, their initial test of anyone whom they meet is concerned with the degree to which he has transcended the pressures toward personal isolation so pervasive in our society and which they have almost invariably observed and experienced in their own families. They turn to those who have passed this test and have also achieved excellence in their chosen fields, who have been able to maintain both values, as it were, in the face of a cultural pattern that maintains them in opposition to each other. For those people, each of whom is "doing his own thing" in the deepest sense, their respect is of the highest order.

Compared to the members of the third group, the seekers, who may use drugs occasionally but primarily look to their peer group for assistance in these areas, the problem with the more disturbed youngsters of the first group who exclusively rely on drugs for these purposes is that they have so little sense of self. Consequently, they are so unable to "get with" a peer group, to bounce experiences off them, that they cannot make use of such relationships. They are pervaded by a sense of futility about life and relationships which leads them to mistrust all relationships, even those with their contemporaries, and turn inward for answers and relief. To the extent that drugs assist in this process through their pharmacological effects, they will be used with little hesitation by these youth. The other youth have developed sufficient separateness from their families and have enough of an identity to enable them to enter into some kind of relationship with peers, although they too may use these drugs as occasional adjuncts.

These considerations have important implication for those concerned with controlling drug usage. Members of the first, more disturbed, group will respond only as the underlying disturbance is alleviated; not only is education ineffective, but even in the face of threats they may not trouble themselves to attempt to hide their continuing usage. A good education program can be expected to have its maximum impact on members of the second, faddist, group, some of whom it will reach, not unlike the effects of a good education program on the danger of tobacco. Needless to say, such a program must be good; a bad program is worse than worthless insofar as it creates a "credibility gap." At the same time, members of this group are likely to be deterred from drug use by the threat of legal sanctions to the same degree that such a threat will be a deterrent to any prohibited behavior. In the last two groups, in which use is intermittent and controlled, any fact provided by an education program will be considered in a decision about use, as would any significant data with which they were provided, and the threat of legal sanctions may have some effect. Nevertheless, real success in limitation will depend on the development of the kinds of social programs and activities that establish an alternate pathway to the insights being reached through the drugs.

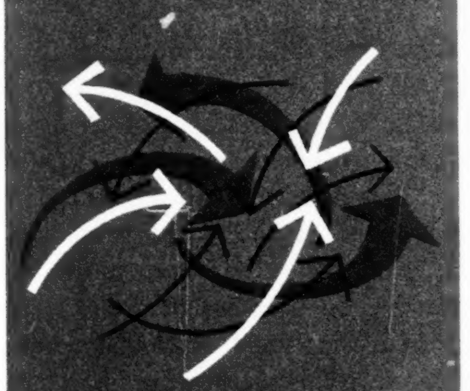
Yet it is the creation of just such a pathway that poses the greatest challenge. It would need to incorporate those elements leading to the goals the youth are seeking: understanding and self-awareness, participation and involvement, passion, and commitment. The creation of this pathway would mean opening an avenue running counter to the prevailing patterns of relationship in American society. This poses a problem, not because of the unacceptability of such approaches, but rather because of the paucity of people capable of providing leadership; a society characterized by alienation is not likely to produce a plethora of people capable of involvement.

While it has been suggested that this will require the creation of new social institutions, the analysis presented also has implications for preventive programs that can be implemented through those already established. Most important among these is the school, which, as the primary institution with which all children articulate, has the greatest potential for this development. The preceding considerations suggest that an effective education program could enable the school to achieve this potential. Although such a program should naturally include a strong basic syllabus on drugs themselves for both student and teacher, the greater emphasis must be on educating the teacher and administrator to an understanding of the circumstances leading to drug use among youth. It is only after being confronted by the experience which youths are undergoing that generates the vacuum so readily filled by drugs, that the teacher is in a position to develop those non-drug avenues available to fill it or, better, to structure a curriculum free of such a vacuum. If the formulation developed earlier is valid, this would mean building into the curriculum the opportunity for students to experience directness and immediacy and their emotional concomitants, with the areas under study, with each other, and with the teacher. This is the real challenge.

> . . . especially efficient in producing nightmares with hallucinations which may be alarming in their intensity. . . . Another peculiar quality . . . is to produce a strange and extreme degree of physical depression. . . . a grievous sinking . . . may seize upon a sufferer so that to speak is an effort . . . the speech may become weak and vague. . . . by miseries such as these, the best years of life may be spoiled.

This was written by the same author responsible for the comments on coffee quoted earlier in this paper, but here he was describing the effects of tea.

These two statements should remind us that, as the Advisory Committee on Drug Dependence of the British Government remarked in its report, "The gradations of danger between consuming tea and coffee at one end of the scale and injecting heroin intravenously at the other may not be permanently those which we now ascribe to particular drugs." □



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POLITICS: EDUCATION IN THE ARENA

The people have been trying to tell the schools that they are willing to cooperate with them to bring about change, but deeply inbred tradition blinds many school people to this. The school is now being forced to get involved in the political scene at the grassroots level, and thus at a level where there is significance.

Education has been pushed into the political arena, the gates are closed. To survive is to fight. Three or four decades ago, such a confrontation would have meant sudden death. The changing climate of the past 10 years has made combatants of educators and education.
Loving, p. 211.

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The School in a Political Setting

(An Editorial)

GORDON N. MACKENZIE

THOSE reared in a tradition stressing the essential necessity for schools to be kept out of politics may find the topic of this editorial to be a bit unsettling. This may be true for one or more reasons. For some readers the topic may arouse images of schools beset by "politicians," or even of educators stooping to so-called political approaches. Thus, if one thinks of politics only in terms of smoke-filled rooms, skulduggery, and manipulation, he can easily conclude that the topic is of no necessary concern for him unless it be to try to counteract politics with increased understanding.

For other readers, the topic may seem to imply two worlds, schools and politics, which should be kept forever apart. This latter view probably results from equating politics with government. Our schools developed many of their present forms and practices in the 19th and early 20th centuries, a period often characterized by unsavory political behavior at local, state, and national levels of government. This very condition, plus our party system, undoubtedly did much to caution educators against attaching educational hopes to the rise or fall of one political party or to a special interest group representing only a segment of the American public.

There may be still other readers who are so singly focused on the education of all of the children of all of the people, or on intellectual excellence, or on the whole child that they cannot but see politics as simply a diversion from their main concern. The fact that the word *politics* has many connotations, and different meanings for different people, may well be in part responsible for a tendency to overlook or to disregard its relevance for education.

The development of political science as an area of empirical study has resulted in clarifying definitions and in making more objective the analysis of political processes. To many political scientists, politics is a study of influence, however and wherever it may be exerted. Thus, a political system is not necessarily a government, but rather is a pattern of human relationships which involves power, rule, and authority (legitimated power). When defined in this way the relevance and centrality of politics to education become clearer and questions arise such as: What is the relation of education to various political systems, be they local, state, or national governments, unions, business firms, or professional associations? Can education itself be profitably viewed as a political system?

The Educator and Politics

Accepting the existence of differing meanings for the word politics may help in exploring different stances which educators might take in relation to various manifestations of political influence, and which have for so long been open for debate. At least four stances appear to be available for consideration.

First, *educators can teach about politics.* This is a long accepted function of the

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educator, although politics has not always received extended attention as a subject of study in elementary and secondary schools. However, if a place is found for it in a crowded educational program, what is taught will, of course, be limited by the understanding of teachers. One might argue that until more educators have a better understanding of the political process as it operates today in all areas of American life, it is quite unlikely that they will be capable of aiding the rising generation to understand, and to operate more effectively in, the various political systems to which each of them belongs.

Second, *educators can, as citizens, apply their specialized knowledge, wherever it may have relevance, to the social issue of the day.* The importance of and the need for educators' coming to grips with the major problems of the modern world have often been emphasized. Yet educators appear to lack techniques for making their influence felt. They are almost completely devoid of any reputation for influencing public life or of having an ability to collaborate with those able to utilize wealth, or other resources such as the communications media, in influencing critical decisions. While this has been bemoaned by a few, educators generally have not taken action to change the situation.

Third, *educators can reveal greater awareness and exert more influence in the control of education.* There are many suggestions that American education has operated too long under the myth that it is nonpolitical and only an educational enterprise. Education is surely one of the most genuinely political undertakings in American life. All public schools are recognized as operating under the authority of a state, but local control of education has been talked about more extensively. It seems clear, however, that the discretionary power of local boards of education is consistently being whittled away, and that their influence is limited except as they choose to accept external and often nonlegal pressures for various specific program decisions.

With each succeeding year, education is more frequently mentioned in partisan platforms at all levels of government. Studies of financial support suggest that education is increasingly subject to state and national influences, and often to coalitions of influence which espouse values very different from those held by the local community. Regardless of the shifting and varied patterns of influence operating relative to schools, most would agree that public schools and the education profession are entirely dependent on public support, financial and moral. Further, the quality and scope of educational programs are frequently matters of intense political conflict. Certainly one cannot explain the differences in educational programs from community to community on an economic basis alone.

Possibly supervisors and curriculum workers are in a special position to observe the influences operating on education. For many supervisors and curriculum workers, the past few years have been like a long and upsetting dream. Just as numerous and diverse as the influential persons and groups that have been wheeling and dealing on curriculum matters, have been the evidences and instances of supervisors and curriculum workers being ignored and bypassed in the making of significant curriculum decisions at state and local levels. Single-minded individuals and groups operating at local, state, and national levels have been able to gain support for segments of the program as diverse as sports, bands, handicapped children, physics, foreign languages, television, and methods of teaching. In some instances these efforts have served to distort the total educational plan. Often they have added new vitality and the possibility of long-term improvements. However, regardless of the nature of the influence, the folklore supporting the local professional educator as the major curriculum worker has been sadly shaken.

Fourth, *educators may assume still another stance, and this is to concern themselves with the politics of their own functioning as professional groups.* Surely this is not unrelated to the three stances already briefly described. Paralleling the debates which have gone on as to what should be taught about politics, how the educators should relate to the broad issues and problems of our time, and how the educators should function in respect to the changing patterns of control of education, there have been indications of professional organization concern for the internal politics of the profession. Educational associations have become more articulate not only in respect to welfare considerations, but also in reference to issues of broader participation in educational policy. Educational associations are taking initial and feeble steps to explore policies covering the policing of their own ranks and are bringing themselves to a position where their special abilities can find expression.

Until educators display more unity and willingness to influence their own procedures, is it likely that they can have much impact on major educational policies? Until educators gain increased power and legitimated authority on educational matters, are they likely to be able to penetrate effectively the broader circles of social activity? The answer to both questions would appear to be a clear, "No!"

We are here concerned primarily with the participation of educators in the broader social scene. Yet educators have not been remarkably effective in this arena. As yet, there is little analysis of the sources of influence which educators individually and collectively can muster, and little thinking about how educators can organize and collaborate with others to effectively enter political arenas.

In view of the contemporary world situation, there probably is no more critical problem before professional educational organizations than a clarification of their political roles. Major decisions as to values to be accepted or rejected are continuously being made on a political basis. Numerous political systems, both legal and nonlegal, are profoundly influencing education, including what is taught and how it is taught. If educators are to be more than a very low order of civil servant following the dictates of numerous and diverse influentials, the politics of education will of necessity engage a larger share of their time, thought, and energy.

Full and active participation by educators on a mature and active basis, improving the education of all Americans and, in fact, of all members of the world community, will require the attention of the best abilities of the profession in assessing the current situation and in mobilizing individual educators and educational associations toward the attainment of a more influential role. □

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The Federal Colossus in Education—Threat or Promise?

GALEN SAYLOR

THAT the federal government is contributing in a colossal manner to the support of education from the nursery school level through the graduate college is, of course, a fact. A mere listing of some of the important acts that provide federal funds for the support of education reveals the tremendous scope of federal participation in the educational endeavors of this country. (The list has been updated for inclusion in this volume.)

- GI Rights Act (education for veterans), 1944 and extensions
- Public Broadcasting Act
- Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965
- Vocational Education Act of 1963 and Amendments of 1968
- Library Services and Construction Act, 1964
- Cooperative Research Act, as amended by ESEA—Title IV, 1965
- School Aid to Federally Impacted and Major Disaster Areas
- National Defense Education Act, 1958 as amended
- Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 (assistance for desegregation)
- Education Professions Development Act, 1967
- Desegregation Assistance Section—U.S. Office Appropriation Act of 1971
- Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act
- Higher Education Act of 1965 and Amendments of 1968
- Education of the Handicapped Act, 1969
- Migration and Refugee Assistance Act
- Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
- Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 and Amendments
- Adult Education Act of 1966
- Cooperative Education Programs—Departments of Labor and HEW Appropriation Act of 1970
- Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963
- Mental Retardation Facilities Act, 1963.

There are many other federal assistance programs, such as the school lunch program, the educational phases of the National Science Foundation Act, and a multitude of other forms of federal aid for education, broadly conceived.

The increase in appropriations of federal funds for education is even more revealing of the extent to which the federal government is making a gigantic effort in the support of education. The comparative report prepared each year by the U.S. Office of Education, entitled "Federal Funds for Education," shows that in 1945 $291,500,000 was appropriated by the Congress for the direct support of education and related activities; in 1955, this sum had increased to $1,523,700,000; in 1960, the amount was $2,324,100,000; in 1965, it was $6,328,907,000; and for the fiscal year 1970, it was $13,232,000,000. This is to say that in 2½ decades federal appropriations for the support of educational programs and activities have increased almost 50-fold.[1]

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[1] Updated for publication in this volume.

Galen Saylor, Professor of Education, Teachers College, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. In 1965, Chairman of the Department of Secondary Education

A further revealing fact is the increase in the amount of direct appropriations to the U.S. Office of Education for support of that office and the aid programs directly administered by it; the office received $34,336,483 in 1950; in 1960, it was granted $474,280,893; and in 1970, it received $8,559,000,000. This constitutes more than a 250-fold increase in the direct appropriations to the U.S. Office of Education in 20 years.

The best estimates made available to the House Appropriations Committee indicate that federal support for education, nursery school level through graduate college, in 1965 constituted one-sixth of all funds spent for education in this country, and that in 1966 it constituted one-fifth of all such expenditures. The federal government is indeed a major source of support for education, and the programs and activities which it subsidizes are widespread and far-flung.

Threat or Promise?

This stupendous amount of federal support for education is indeed both a threat and a promise to good education for children, youth, and young adults in America. Let us explore both possibilities more fully.

The Promise

Federal programs for the support of education in the United States show great promise for the development and advancement of the total opportunities for the education of children, youth, and adults in this country for these reasons:

1. *Much greater sums of money become available for the support of the educational effort of this nation.* Obviously, the appropriation of more than $8 billion directly for the support of education in this country is a huge sum of money, and it represents a major contribution to our effort. If such sums of money were not available, the total program would of course be curtailed, or the citizens through local or state units of government would have to raise these large sums of money to maintain even our present effort.

2. *Extensive national effort of this size provides programs and services not possible or not feasible through local and state efforts.* Generally speaking, the program of elementary, secondary, and collegiate education as it exists in this country is inadequately supported now by local and state agencies. The pressure everywhere on these units of government is to appropriate ever-expanding sums of money for the support of our regular program of education. Little, if any, of their revenues can be used for new services, new programs, and new ventures of an educational nature, even if it is generally agreed that such an expansion is desirable.

Moreover, some aspects of educational development, by their very nature, should be undertaken on a larger base than is possible by local or state authorities. Many of the existing programs of federal support are of this nature, such as the programs and services provided by the mental retardation act, the cooperative research program, the research and development centers, the various curriculum projects and commissions that are extensively engaged in the formulation of new instructional materials and plans for various areas of the curriculum, the establishment of educational service centers, and many other endeavors of this kind.

3. *The federal government is able to support and foster the development of new programs and new types of educational undertakings that generally would not be undertaken by local educational authorities.* Generally local boards of education, state departments of education, and the power structure of local communities would not countenance or approve the undertaking of the types of new educational programs that the federal government frequently fosters and supports. Examples are the entire program being developed under the Economic Opportunity Act and most of the activities that have

been possible under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

4. *Federal support for the existing educational enterprise frequently stimulates local and state agencies to increased effort in support of the regular and traditionally accepted program of education.* Good examples of such nudging are the Higher Education Facilities Act, which provides a portion of the cost of new facilities for higher education; Title III of the National Defense Education Act, which provided partial federal subsidy for the improvement of facilities and teaching resources in science, mathematics, and foreign languages; and the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Similiarly, Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has induced many school districts throughout the United States to expand and improve library service and to develop much more rapidly than they would be inclined to do otherwise their library resources for elementary and secondary schools.

5. *The federal government has clearly demonstrated that it can rapidly initiate the development and support of new programs in areas of urgent need that become evident because of new economic, social, and cultural conditions.* In my belief, the Congress of the United States and the educational agencies established by it have shown dexterity and willingness to move rapidly when great need for new kinds of programs is evident. Examples of this, of course, are the Manpower Training and Development Act, the National Defense Education Act, and the redesigning and expansion of the vocational education programs.

6. *Federal efforts in education serve to prod the pedantic, nudge the lethargic, and inspire the imaginative school officials and boards of education of local educational agencies throughout the nation.* Of course, we do have highly imaginative, creative, and aggressive educators and members of local boards of education throughout the nation, for it is such professional educators and scholars that advise the Congress of the United States and our national leaders on new developments and new programs that should be undertaken. Nevertheless, it is evident that far too many of our local education officials simply lack the professional qualifications to invent new programs needed to serve adequately all of the educational needs of their localities. Once the federal government provides support for new types of educational endeavors, a political climate is created in which the pedantic are prodded, although sometimes reluctantly, into action.

7. *Federal efforts in support of education clearly demonstrate a desire on the part of the Congress to develop a total program for the education of all Americans regardless of any economic, social, cultural, or racial factors that may under existing local programs deny or curtail the equality of access to educational opportunity.* The widespread nature of the federal programs clearly indicates that the Congress is insistent that every American have the privilege of participating in the types of schooling and in educational programs that will enable him personally and individually to realize the maximum of his full potentialities regardless of any factors that in the past have restricted or curtailed these opportunities.

8. *The total federal effort in behalf of schools, colleges, and all educational agencies has fostered a new national interest in education and has made education a matter of great national concern.* Everyone is well aware of the fact that the Presidents of the United States in recent administrations, with the support of Congress, have been responsible for a reawakening and a revival of the American interest and concern for the education of its people.

The Threat

Yet there are also some threats evident in our present national efforts in support of education. Chief among these, I detect the following:

1. *The stifling of the creativeness, inventiveness, and skill of discovery of local educational leaders and officials.* It is not, in my opinion, an inevitable corollary of federal participation in education that creativeness and inventiveness of individual practitioners, researchers and scholars are stifled. Such an outcome, however, certainly is always a threat; and such a possibility should be clearly recognized not only by the Congress of the United States and federal officials, but by the educators and citizens themselves so that conditions will be maintained that encourage stimulation of such inventiveness by everyone concerned with the educational enterprise.

The very nature of federal support itself makes possible, perhaps encourages, a situation in which those who administer the federal programs approve and support only those things that appeal to them or that carry out their ideas and desires. For example, in the cooperative research program, decisions obviously must be made about what proposals to approve.

Similarly, in the establishment of research and development centers now under way in this country, someone must make a decision as to which proposal for a center shall receive federal support and which proposal shall be rejected. Whose philosophy of education, whose concept of what is good and what is not good, whose concept of what should receive the blessing of the federal government and what should be denied its support are to prevail? Although these types of programs are at present only one small aspect of the federal participation, the possibilities here are very serious and indicate the nature of the problems that face us.

2. *Invidious control over the program of education itself.* Here I point to direct federal control of education through the acts that provide support for these programs. I believe that the actual curriculum and other types of educational programs provided children in the classrooms and schools of this nation must be determined by the teachers and their fellow staff members who guide and direct the development of learning opportunities and plan the total program of education for the children of a particular school and school system. Lessening the responsibility for such decisions by the staff of the individual school system reduces the possibilities for adaptability, flexibility, experimentation, innovation, and, most serious of all, administration to the educational needs of each child enrolled in school.

The threat that such decisions will be curtailed as a result of federal support is a serious one. I see no threat in the national curriculum projects that have been substantially subsidized by the National Science Foundation and the U.S. Office of Education. The local school authorities and teachers still have complete freedom, insofar as those programs are concerned, to decide whether they want to use the instructional materials, plans, and the recommendations formulated by these commissions and curriculum development centers, modify them, use some aspects and reject others, or completely reject the whole project itself. These projects represent one of the very rich resources being made available through federal support for the upgrading of various aspects of the educational programs of the schools, and are indeed to be lauded and encouraged.

The real threat, I believe, comes from control by federal officials over the educational aspects of the plans developed for carrying out some of these acts, particularly the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. *This act gives the U.S. Commissioner of Education authority to approve plans for carrying out the act and hence the conditions within provisions of the law under which grants will be made.* The Economic Opportunity Act, Title II, prescribes the nature of community action plans and further states that "The Director is authorized to prescribe such additional criteria for programs carried on under this part as he shall deem appropriate." This is the title under which many of the educational activities can be established for children.

Now being proposed to carry out provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act are testing programs and programs for the assessment of educational outcomes that indeed, in my opinion, constitute a serious threat to the prerogatives of the teachers and local school officials in each school district, and hence to sound educational planning and administration. It is a very alarming development in the history of federal support for education that, for the first time in its history, the federal government is demanding that evidence be submitted by local school systems on the effectiveness of these programs.

Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act requires that the local educational agency include in its plans that "effective procedures, including provision for proper objective measurements of educational achievement, will be adopted for evaluating at least annually the effectiveness of the programs in meeting the special education needs of educationally deprived children." Further, the Act requires that the local education agency report annually to the state educational agency "information relating to the educational achievement of students participating in programs carried out under this title." In turn, the state educational agency must "make to the commissioner periodic reports (including the results of the objective measurements required by Section 205[A] [5]) evaluating the effectiveness of payments under this title and of particular programs assisted under it in improving the educational attainments of educationally deprived children."

If this is not direct federal control over the curriculum of the schools, I do not know what federal control is. When you require a school system to report on the effectiveness of the program, you are requiring that school to report on its curriculum. Pure and simple. If the purpose of such a report is not to control the program, then why make it? It is presumed by the very wording of the Act that the Congress of the United States will use these reports on the measurement of educational attainment to determine what the nature of the programs shall be in subsequent legislation by Congress. And it should be pointed out that this Title of the Act is only authorized for one year and hence will be subject to scrutiny by Congress next year, at which time Congress will determine whether it wants to extend this program, modify it, or terminate it. Presumably, then, if the schools want to continue to receive such aid, they will have to establish programs that within even the next few months would demonstrate to Congress that they are "effective," with "effectiveness" in no way being defined or described.

As I state, it is to me a terrifying development that such provisions were written into the most recent federal program for the support of education. I remind the reader that *no such provisions requiring objective evidence of effectiveness were ever written into any other acts for the federal support of education in the entire history of the United States.* The land grant universities were not required under the Morrill Act to report to the Commissioner of Education and hence to the Congress of the United States on their effectiveness in carrying out the provisions of that Act; the Smith-Hughes law in 1917 made no such requirements of any kind on the secondary schools of the United States that accepted federal support for vocational education, and neither does the new Vocational Education Act of 1963. No one, local schools, colleges who administer institutes, or any agency that receives grants for research projects or other types of money under the National Defense Education Act, is required to report to the U.S. Commissioner of Education on the effectiveness of these programs.

Anyone who has had such grants or worked with such programs knows that the federal government in the past had relied on the imagination, creativeness, and integrity of the local agencies to provide outstanding programs under the provisions of these acts.

Why has the Congress of the United States suddenly written into its most recent federal subsidy bill provisions that require the local school to gather evidence on the effectiveness of the program and then to submit this evidence directly to the U.S. Commissioner of Education through the state educational agency?

Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, moreover, requires the U.S. Commissioner of Education to gather evidence on the lack of availability of educational opportunities because of race, color, religion, or national origin—a provision that gives the Commissioner authority to study schools at the local level.

3. *Development of attitudes and modes of operation of dependency and indifference, of kowtowing to entrenched bureaucrats.* A third threat of federal support correlative to the other two is the possibility of the gradual evolvement on the part of local citizens, boards of education, and school officials of an attitude of indifference to educational matters in the local communities and lethargy in doing anything to improve the quality of the program. There is a serious possibility of a decline in local interest and concern for education as support and control from sources beyond the local community increase. Anyone who has studied closely schools and educational programs in European countries, most of which have highly centralized and nationalized systems of education, is well aware of the almost total apathy and indifference of the citizens of the local community toward the state and conditions of the educational programs of the community. Certainly, there is a gross lack of any effort to introduce change, to experiment, and to innovate.

Although such a threat, obviously, is one of long-term development, I nevertheless fear a gradual weakening of the concern local citizens in many communities now have about their schools as federal involvement increases.

The Future

For the future, I believe the following things should be done:

1. Much greater support for the total program of education should be provided by the federal government. Federal support for education should double, then triple, and then continue to increase in the years immediately ahead.

2. Federal support should be provided for a great variety of programs, projects, and other educational undertakings of all kinds. The total effort of the federal government should reach out into all aspects of education and the funds should in large part be used to stimulate and support more comprehensive and extensive educational efforts than are carried out as a part of our traditional program of schooling in local districts.

3. A large part of the program of the federal government should constitute research and development activities of broad scope, such as would not be feasible for local educational systems or even state departments of education to undertake. A part of these research efforts should consist of broadly conceived and widespread efforts to assess educational outcomes and evaluation of the effectiveness of educational programs, but only on a basis that ensures integrity of local control over the curriculum provided pupils.

4. In providing categorical aid, the federal government should be certain that it supports only those aspects of the total educational program that represent a wise investment of funds. Philosophically and educationally, programs supported by the federal government should offer great

promise for major advances in the education of this country.

5. All educational efforts should be correlated and unified through a common administrative agency at all levels, federal, state, and local. This is not to say that the school district or the school system itself must carry out and administer all programs, but rather that all programs whether receiving federal support or not should be part of a comprehensive and planned program of total education for all children, youth, and young adults.

6. The administration of and carrying out of federally-supported educational programs should under no circumstances be placed in the hands of persons who lack extensive and adequate professional preparation for such positions. There should be no place in such federal programs for politicians not fully qualified by training and experience to administer such programs. □

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Political Power, the School, and the Culture

(An Editorial)

ALVIN D. LOVING, SR.

THE school in its new role as an agent of social change can no longer work in a vacuum. Until the school is willing to recognize the fact that it must become involved with the society of which the school is a part, no real change will take place. Let me quote from J. A. Battle. In his book, *Culture and Education for the Contemporary World,* Mr. Battle says:

> Without a politics of education that is intelligently led and altruistically based there can be little hope for gaining quality education within a democracy. Since a democracy is dependent upon politics and education it must have a good politics of education to survive. Someone has said that a democracy that scorns education is actually an hypocrisy. One could say also with much truth that an educational system in a democracy that scorns politics is an hypocrisy. The public school system of a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people has to go to the people through its governing agencies to gain support, and its very reason for existence is the welfare of the people.[1]

The people have been trying to tell the schools that they are willing to cooperate with them to bring about change, but deeply inbred tradition blinds many school people to this. The school is now being forced to get involved in the political scene at the grassroots level, and thus at a level where there is significance.

Education has been pushed into the political arena, the gates are closed. To survive is to fight. Three or four decades ago, such a confrontation would have meant sudden death. The changing climate of the past 10 years has made combatants of educators and education.

[1] J. A. Battle. *Culture and Education for the Contemporary World.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969. p. 151.

Alvin D. Loving, Sr., Assistant Dean, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and ASCD President, 1971-72

What once had been considered the prerogative of the school has become the concern of the State House and the White House. Such matters as pupil placement, curriculum development, learning concepts, selection of building sites were the matter-of-fact, the mundane, to educators. Today, the mundane has become the dramatic. The words have changed. Local control, "quality" education, black studies, integration, neighborhood school concept, freedom of choice, decentralization, relevance, accountability, the list is long. Different words mean different things and stir different emotions in different people.

There is evidence that as government moves toward ridding the North of *de facto* segregated schools, and the South of dual schools, people are resorting to pressuring the legislatures to create laws which will make their bigotry or racism legitimate. The once powerless minorities are developing techniques that frustrate and anger those who are in the majority and who have legitimized their undemocratic actions.

These minorities who live in the core of our urban centers have become concerned about the learning and the preparation that their youngsters have for life beyond the school. These people are demanding "local control" of their schools and, in order to bring this about, have gone to the street and are using the techniques of the street to get those with political power to listen. I put "local control" in quotes because local control has always been the way of American education. The local community has had the responsibility of selecting its board of education and of assisting in the determination of the kind of school that its youngsters should attend. Yet as our communities have become more complex, and as our boards of education have become more political and have little direct contact with the people, there is the feeling that there is a need to have a system of education controlled by those who are being affected.

Institutional Racism

Many boards of education have begun to yield power at the local level. They are giving the people of the community the right to select their principals and to have something to say about the kind of curriculum that is being developed in their particular schools. However, this has become frightening to many people in power, and so in one instance, for example, the power has been taken away from the local board of education and assumed by the state legislature.

Under the guise of decentralization or, supposedly, an attempt to satisfy those who are crying for local control, the state legislatures have proceeded to think and plan for the people. As an example, the State of Michigan mandated that its only class A district be divided into from seven to eleven semi-autonomous districts. These districts, composed of between 25,000 and 50,000 school-aged youngsters, were to have a certain amount of autonomy. The central board of education was given a limited time to draw the guidelines and to establish the boundaries for these districts. Community groups were given an opportunity to submit their plans or their concepts of how these districts should be developed.

Because of the pattern of segregated living, suspicions ran high. The black areas wanted the lines drawn in such a way that they would have control and power within their groups and within their areas. This was also true of the white groups. They wanted the lines drawn to be sure that the housing pattern or the pattern of the school did not change. Members of the board of education, having listened to all of the requests that had come in from interested groups, proceeded to draw the district lines.

At the same time, they felt that this was an opportunity to carry out the mandates of the Supreme Court decision of 1954. So not only did they draw the district lines in terms of the number of pupils, but their design also took into consideration a move toward integration of schools. This action was legitimate and moral.

The white community became enraged. Pressure was brought to bear on members of the state legislature. The previous action of the legislature was rescinded and a substitute bill was developed, a bill that would void the attempt on the part of the board of education not only to draw decentralization lines, but to integrate the schools. This is a perfect example of institutional racism.

An American Culture

Where states have taken over the responsibility for school decentralization by usurping power from the local board of education, the democratic process is threatened. The quality of life and society in the United States can only be improved when schools continue to work toward the improvement of our culture. An American culture must become a reality.

America is divided by its many subcultures. Each of these groups does make a contribution to the total of the American culture. But emphasis on any one of them or any few of them could delay the development of a *basic* American culture. Schools must recognize that much of their difficulty, whether it is at the local level or at the state level, has been promulgated by many of the subgroups of our American culture. Again, to quote J. A. Battle, "Without a politics of education that is intelligently led and altruistically based, there can be little hope for gaining quality education within a democracy.'[2] □

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[2] *Ibid.*

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Political Power and the High School Curriculum

JOHN S. MANN

"POLITICAL POWER" is of concern to curriculum workers in at least three related ways. First, the effort to influence curriculum decisions is an exercise in political power. Such decisions are made, not on the basis of direct inference from definitive scholarly findings, but rather on the basis of a complex interaction of forces representing different interests, values, beliefs, and knowledge systems.

Second, since "Political Power" is a ubiquitous fact of societal existence, and since a democracy depends for its vigor and justness upon equitable distribution of power, it is proper that the citizens' schools offer extensive opportunities for learning about how political power operates.

Third, there are growing numbers of students who find our schools oppressive, inane, misconceived, and mismanaged, and who consequently are interested and involved in developing the political power they require to bring about very substantial improvements. Their efforts are increasingly a dominant component of the high school environment, and thus willy-nilly have become an important "unplanned" part of the curriculum.

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I will here try to describe one way of interpreting these three concerns in relation to one another and then briefly mention an approach to exploiting the potential in this regard. My approach is not eclectic. It reflects very strong partisan commitments about curriculum and politics. I shall try to make these commitments quite clear.

Dissident Views

I will begin with the dissident student and his dissatisfactions. He seems to the outsider to be in protest against everything established, and to see everything he opposes as essentially similar to everything else he opposes. Opposition to the draft, it would seem, is essentially the same thing as opposition to a silly dress code or an inadequate curriculum.

The rebellious student experiences each of these as immediate and direct oppression. And ending the war in Vietnam by expanding it into Cambodia and Laos reflects the same mentality that is involved in educating students to live in a democracy by denying them the most fundamental, as well as the most trivial, rights accorded citizens by our Constitution. From the students' point of view, education is not participation in a rigged and manipulated so-called "teaching-learning process," but rather a natural human consequence of and exercise in the uses of freedom. Our curriculum is manipulatory, mechanical, and inhuman, they assert, in precisely the same way that our approach to the problems of Indochina is manipulatory, mechanical, and inhuman.

A fundamental difference in world-view is reflected here, and it is by virtue of this difference that the various protests blend into one. But this blending ought not to obscure what I believe is a matter of fact: that the center of gravity of student protest is nausea and rage over the way they are treated in school in the name of education. Nor is this fact mitigated by another equally apparent fact—that what passes for education is a consequence of very much the same forces as is what passes for foreign policy. Protesting students are engaged in a struggle against many forms of oppression; but they are willing to put a good deal of their considerable energy and talent to work in the struggle against the oppression most immediate to their own experience, and that is the oppression of schooling.

Exploring Uses of Freedom

One way for me to make my partisanship in these matters clear is to state that I find this student view essentially correct. From it I draw certain conclusions which establish the relation of the third concern of the curriculum worker to the other two that I have mentioned.

The first conclusion I draw is this: the most pressing task before the contemporary curriculum worker is to revitalize the exploration of the uses of freedom in education. In the late thirties some real progress was being made on the problem of rigorously operationalizing the progressive conceptions of interest, choice, and learner-centered structuring of educational programs. In the intervening three decades we have lost what little art we were beginning to have in this difficult task, and we are now back to debates at the very crude level of "structured" vs. "nonstructured" educational programs. We must rediscover and expand our grasp of the art of building educative programs around the act of choosing.

One of the recurrent problems we have with this notion of choosing derives from the fact that many of its interpreters have been rooted in a highly individualistic liberal tradition which did not adequately handle the problem of interests or rights in conflict. The classroom behavior which reflects this inadequacy and which for many teachers defines the limiting factor in their ability to handle "choice" is the statement I have heard so often: "But if I let *you* do that, *everyone* will want to do it."[1]

Choice in the context of school, like choice in the context of a broader democratic society, cannot entirely be a matter of each individual's doing his thing. Choices of individuals interact in very complex ways with choices of collectivities; such choices are a social and a political as well as an individual process, and bear upon both the conduct of life in school and the conduct of life in society. The second conclusion I draw, then, is that both the practice and the study of the social-political process of the exercise of choice is a crucial part of the educative experience. And as I have argued in another paper,[2] choice is power in motion.

A Massive Political Effort

There are curriculum specialists who, steeped in the "progressive" conception of education, will be in basic agreement with my views both of the centrality of choice in a sound pedagogy and of the close interaction between social-political and educative processes. Yet they and I too often have been content to substitute vacuous rhetoric about "humanizing education" for action; and when we have acted, too often the action has been a futile sort of patchwork affair, piecing little tidbits of humanism onto a thoroughly manipulative, impersonal, mechanical sort of curriculum.

We have had, it seems to me, a naïve belief that if we would only display our humanism often enough, everyone would buy it. The third conclusion I draw is that the development of educationally and politically adequate alternatives to our present system of schooling requires a massive and strident political effort.

These three conclusions establish the relations among the three concerns with which I began. Students are demanding drastic revision of both political and educational outlook and behavior. Their vision of the process by which education is to proceed is a synecdoche for their vision of the political process, so that the exercise of one is both a part of and a preparation for the other. And the current efforts among students to organize themselves into a coherent political force have the potential for drastically altering the balance of powers that now shapes school policy.

Alliance with Students

Given this outlook, the widespread tendency to respond to student movements with repressive measures appears to be either folly or malice. The dissident students have fundamental commitments in common with many of us who are professional educators; this includes professors, teachers, and curriculum and administrative personnel. They offer us the most viable course to fulfilling our commitment that has come along in many years. That course in its simple essence is alliance with them in a struggle against those individuals and institutions that stand for oppressive "educative" practices we have come to recognize as "dehumanizing." The form the struggle is to take is an open question. It is quite clear that the students have made mistakes about political tactics and have made errors in analyzing educational issues. It is also clear that we have been irresponsible in failing to think seriously about political tactics at all and in failing to lend our skill to their analytic efforts.

Yet if one believes, as I do, that the thrust of their protest is both right and urgent, then the proper course of action would seem to be to support and strengthen their movement—to help make it a better movement.

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[1] I have tried to clarify the structure-nonstructure problem and the individual-collectivity problem in "Alternatives to School—Three Problems and a Piece of a Solution." In: William F. Pilder, editor. *What Color Is Your Parachute?* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. (Forthcoming.)

[2] John S. Mann. "The Curriculum Worker: A View of His Training and His Tasks." *Educational Comment 1970.* Toledo, Ohio: University of Toledo, 1970.

There are at least three kinds of activity that the typical idealistic young radical is involved in that could be substantially supported by teachers and curriculum workers. First, he is engaged in criticizing and analyzing current school practices and formulating alternatives to these practices. Second, he is involved in learning (a) about his own political and legal powers and rights, (b) about the distribution of and legal constraints upon power in and around his school system, and (c) about other powers, such as groupings of teachers within the teachers union, with which a convergence of interests might lead to joining forces. Third, the dissident student is engaged in direct political action over specific issues, some of which are educational and some of which are more broadly political. "Action" here includes such things as leafleting, holding public meetings, soliciting support from other groups, picketing, parading—all the legal things that constitute participation in the democratic political process.

Mutual Benefit

In each of these three activities the dissident student has much to gain from the support and assistance of professional educators. And the professional educator who shares the commitments I have expressed in this paper also has much to gain. For in the restlessness of these highly committed and strongly motivated students he has an unprecedented opportunity simultaneously to build a prototypically progressive educational program, to cultivate the kind of understanding of political power that is required of citizens in a democracy, and to contribute to the growth and internal education of a political movement in opposition to current school practices that he finds destructive, oppressive, and as thoroughly misguided as they are firmly entrenched.

What I envision, but what I cannot spell out here in detail, is a movement to design a progressive curriculum specifically for these angry radical students, in which thorough study of educational policy formulation and of the politics of schools would converge in and be reinforced, corrected, refined, and deepened in the practical experience of actually formulating educational policy and struggling to enact it.[3] It would make perfect sense, I think, for this experience itself to constitute the major portion of the dissident student's curriculum for a semester or two in his junior or senior year.

This sort of curricular innovation will not be widely accepted by school systems, because it expresses a genuinely opposition point of view. Its pedagogy, its political strategy, and its underlying assumptions diverge markedly from those of current school practices. I believe, though, that such an innovation provides a point of departure for curriculum planning which is responsive to the interests and world-views of many high school students.

This approach will strike a responsive chord, too, in a large number of teachers who entered the profession with ideals they have long since learned out of necessity to keep buried away.

We can do much more than merely talk about ways to "humanize education." We can help the students with the kind of curriculum I have hinted at in spite of opposition, which may mean doing it before, after, and around instead of in school. We can seek out and bring together like-minded teachers and cultivate support in related professional and paraprofessional groupings. We can seek proper bases for coalitions between our professional groups and dissident student groups. We can become more aware, ourselves, of our own historical roots and of the deep interlocks between current school practice and the many other aspects of our national life. ☐

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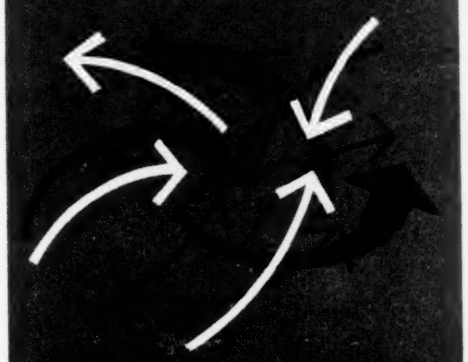
[3] I have spelled out this proposal in somewhat more detail in the ASCD 1972 yearbook.



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ADAPTING TO THE NEEDS OF OUR TIME

Educational reforms of a sweeping and significant nature rarely have come about through the action of the schools in and of themselves. Educational practice tends to reflect what a majority or at least a plurality of society chooses to support in the classroom. Under such circumstances it seems reasonable to argue that society itself must make itself accountable *for changes that are needed in the fabric of teaching and learning in order to bring us closer to a new central purpose for education.* Shane, p. 221.

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The Greening of Curriculum

(An Editorial)

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AS ONE examines the curriculum scene with a focus on "opening things up," a new optimism is justified. One can support Charles Reich's controversial thesis that there is a greening of America with increasingly strong evidence that there is also a greening of the curriculum.

For Reich, the greening shows up in a new consciousness that has emerged from the "machine-made environment of the corporate state like flowers pushing up through a concrete pavement." [1] This new consciousness has clearly helped to nourish alternative curriculum designs, which are beginning to push up through the many hard-rock traditions of curriculum development reflected in the so-called conventional wisdom of the field.

Until recently, it was not at all evident that such growth was possible. To be sure, there were countless reports of innovations in response to the question, "What is new?" So often, however, these innovations were little more than a rearrangement or a redeployment of the conventional elements of curriculum planning. They affected hardly at all the quality of life in the school.

New Concepts Required

In effect, the conceptual tools—if one may think of an underlying rationale in these terms—available to curriculum planners caught up in change were quite inadequate for the generation of truly imaginative curricular alternatives. We were victimized by a technological mentality and locked into the kind of technological language it had generated.

Many thoughtful observers called this to our attention—Huebner, Macdonald, Mann, Kliebard, among others. Yet, curriculum decision makers, when pressed to reflect on what they were doing or hoped to do, invariably responded with "selecting and organizing content" in terms of "purposes." And these purposes, they commonly asserted, were to be formulated from an analysis of data drawn from the "needs of society," the "needs of individuals," and the "nature of knowledge."

The difficulty with this rationale lies not, it seems, with the naming of the data sources. Serious disjunctures occur at every point in the process. In fact, as a rationale, it breaks down so often in practice that most experienced teachers have come to regard curriculum development along these simple, but compellingly logical, lines as a myth. It is something we can talk and write about, using highly refined technological language if we choose, but it really does not relate in any discernible way to what actually takes place. Nor does it give one a sound base for controlling or predicting curricular change.

The "larger learnings," for example, that Frazier called to our attention and the "new priorities" that Berman explored have not been in the picture. Indeed, there has

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[1] Charles A. Reich. *The Greening of America.* New York: Random House, Inc., 1970. p. 395.

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been no adequate curricular language even to talk about them, let alone for planning new curricular designs to open things up in schools. The many versions of new organizational schemes do not, in themselves, do this, whatever the increased flexibility they may have the potential to provide.

Promising Breakthroughs

A significant breakthrough came in the spring of 1970 in ASCD's courageous action to adopt a new platform statement on the quality of life and society in the United States. This platform developed by Frazier,[2] with the help of others, examined seven facets of emerging counter-culture values. The seven cut across all of the conventional data which might be drawn from traditional curriculum planning sources. In effect, this statement began to recognize data for curriculum planning that such critics of American culture as Mead, Galbraith, Henry, and Roszak have urged educators to examine. New "realities" identified by some of the most thoughtful future planners were brought into focus.

But adopting a platform statement is not enough. Professional groups have had a long history of doing that. There remains a large and critical job to be undertaken by us all—theoreticians, developers, and practitioners—to translate these emerging values into adequate curricular designs in school settings. New conceptual tools will be required to help us do this, tools that do not have the built-in error of most of our present curriculum development concepts.

Among other things, we must reassess the political power context of curriculum making. John Mann has performed a useful service in his examination of the political power question which, in his words, goes beyond the patchwork affair of "piecing little tidbits of humanism onto a thoroughly manipulative, impersonal, mechanical sort of curriculum."[3] Other curriculum concepts that impinge on the design problem must be subjected to similar hard-nosed scrutiny.

An effort under way in a long-range project sponsored by the University Council on Educational Administration illustrates yet another promising thrust. This project, called the Monroe City Simulation, has one task force focusing on changing the curriculum. Those currently involved in this work are developing a new conceptual framework to guide in the selection of more adequate simulation experiences for curriculum decision makers.

John Herbert's efforts at the Ontario Institute to develop a more effective curriculum theory network is another encouraging development with implications for the curriculum design field.

The continuing work at the Center for the Study of Curriculum at The Ohio State University merits attention also. Ten of the Center staff members were involved in 1970 in a joint research and development effort with the Nuffield Foundation and Schools Council-Supported Humanities Curriculum Project in London, England. Clearly, this project, which originated to develop more adequate curricular materials for early school leavers, has served to open up the secondary school curriculum in England. Like the best of the "open" primary schools in that country, it suggests thoughtful alternative curriculum designs for us.

The greening turns up also in descriptions of alternatives to traditional schooling. This writer continues to be inspired by what some of the free schools have done, for example, to reconceptualize the problems of curricular design and to create new roles for students and community as well as teachers.

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[2] Alexander Frazier. "The Quality of Life and Society in the United States." In: Robert R. Leeper, editor. *A Man for Tomorrow's World.* Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1970. pp. 62-84.

[3] John S. Mann. "Political Power and the High School Curriculum." *Educational Leadership* 28 (1): 24; October 1970.

The Task Ahead

In the months ahead, this greening process calls for good, accurate descriptions of what is happening without all of the Madison Avenue talk that has so often characterized our reporting. The effort of Arthur W. Foshay[4] in reporting what has happened in the past several years at Murray Road School in Newton, Massachusetts, stands as a good example. And, clearly, we need to create more adequate concepts for controlling and predicting change.

I am convinced that we must keep in mind, more than ever before, that values are quite central in this process of curriculum development. Attention to values and to the quality of life commitments the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development has made will give us a new base for generating more adequate curriculum designs. ☐

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[4] Arthur W. Foshay. *Curriculum for the 70's: Agenda for Invention.* Washington, D.C.: NEA Center for the Study of Instruction, 1970.

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The Rediscovery of Purpose in Education

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SOMETHING seemed to go awry with the once-sustaining purposes of U.S. education in the years between 1920 and 1970. By the late 1960's there was even the gloomy prospect that our instructional landscape might be on the way to becoming a littered ideological junkyard.

As we entered the 1970's there undoubtedly were more than a few Americans who uneasily speculated, and not without some reason, that we were moving into a confused, "Twilight of the Goals" interval which foreshadowed a social and educational Armageddon that was likely to occur in the next decade or two.

THE REDISCOVERY OF BASIC PURPOSE. Because of contemporary educational problems too well known to need recounting, it is suggested here with a sense of urgency that the need for a rediscovery of educational purpose is becoming frighteningly obvious. After 10,000 years we appear to have come full circle and once again need to rediscover the purpose of primitive man's education—human survival in the face of a dangerous, implacable environment.

From a life-and-death battle with a hostile nature early in our history we have cycled back to a point at which we face an analogous struggle to protect ourselves from an environment—a *biosphere* to use fashionable terminology—which has been made dangerous *for* man *by* man. Among the present, clear dangers are our propensity for overbreeding, our ingenuity in devising deadly weapons, the careless release of poisonous technological wastes, and the thoughtlessly accumulated mountains of "indisposable" trash which crowd our living space.

It is simple to propose that learning to survive has become a new central goal of

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education; it is decidedly less simple to conjecture about how to go about approaching such an objective.

ATTAINING NEW "SURVIVAL BEHAVIORS." At least two paths of action present themselves if we accept the concept that survival in a meaningful world is an immediate goal for education. One of these is a reinterpretation of what *constitutes* "survival behaviors." The other is an educational reformation which will not only permit but which will begin to *ensure* that children and youth in our schools put together valid "behavioral survival kits." Such kits will help them not only to make it into the next century but, in the process, to begin to recast the world so that it promises to remain a nutritive bioenvironment suitable for mankind to inhabit. Let us look first at survival behavior.

From earliest times, the notion of survival was associated with attaining and staying at the apex of a socioeconomic pyramid. At least until the 19th century, about 15 percent of Western Europe's population—aristocrats, soldiers, ecclesiastics, scholars—was supported by the laborers, agrarians, and artisans making up the other 85 percent. Man fought like Duke William at Hastings to get to the top of the pile and schemed like King John at Runnymede to stay there. Indeed, through the ages, history has defined the one who survives as "successful" and has bestowed its worldly favors on those caesars who proved to have the highest "survival quotients" in life's arenas!

In the past century, however, science, technology, and democracy have combined to invert the human pyramid. Today in the United States, no more than 7 percent of the population is needed on our mechanized farms to produce food for the remaining 93 percent. Theoretically, one-third of our adults, by 1985, would not even need to be productive workers. The remaining two-thirds of the U.S. population doubtless could meet not only their own material needs but those of tens of millions of others who would produce nothing. This is a projection of a repugnant possibility, however, and not a prophecy!

Despite the reversal of our human pyramid, a 50,000-year interval of deep-rooted survival behavior is not quickly forgotten. For the most part, society and its schools have both failed to teach and failed to understand that man is becoming more capable of surviving by living *with* his fellows rather than by living *on* his fellows. Conjecture clearly suggests that there is not only "room at the *top*" but room *everywhere* for self-realization and for a better life for all in the inverted social pyramid of the present century *if we can discipline ourselves to make the needed "survival decisions."* To put it bluntly, a 180° reversal is needed in the traditional concept of "get-ahead behavior" that man has learned to accept during the past 500 centuries. We now need to learn how to stop behaving like troglodytes in trousers and take the steps that lead from being the scattered members of insecure tribes to becoming a secure mankind.

NEW PURPOSE AS A SOURCE OF DIRECTION FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE. Educational reforms of a sweeping and significant nature rarely have come about through the action of the schools in and of themselves. Educational practice tends to reflect what a majority or at least a plurality of society chooses to support in the classroom. Under such circumstances it seems reasonable to argue that *society itself must make itself accountable* for changes that are needed in the fabric of teaching and learning in order to bring us closer to a new central purpose for education.

Below is a sample of the kind of neglected or minimized learnings that a society interested in the survival and in the physical and psychological health of the children and youth should mandate that its schools recognize:

1. That we need to begin to lead less wasteful, extravagant lives, to do with less, and to rediscover enjoyment in simpler activities, objects, and pleasures so that our posterity will not live a marginal existence in a world stripped half-naked of its inheritance

2. That the despoliation of our forests and the pillage of our pure air and clean water shall cease along with the poorly managed exploitation of fuels, fertile soils, and metals. Such abuses must be terminated by group consensus and by the legislation to which it leads

3. That no one has the right to befoul or poison the earth with chemicals or radioactive wastes or poorly removed sewage and garbage

4. That unless we exercise prudence and personal responsibility, we will suffer badly from the malignant consequences of changes that affect man's relationships with his environment, as in faulty city planning, random dam building, or unwise land use

5. That there is a need to understand the immediate danger of irresponsible and uncontrolled human breeding as the world's population builds up toward the 4,000,000,000 mark

6. That the folly of conflict is becoming more and more incongruous in a world grown capable of self-destruction

7. That mass media need to become more positive agents for reinforcing the educational guidance of the young, for producing less misleading advertising, for more thoughtful and less strident news, and for a more accurate and dignified portrayal of life in the global village

8. That we must learn to be more personally responsible for the participation and earned support that are needed to ensure an increase in the number of able, dedicated public servants in elective and appointive governmental offices.

THE DEEPER MEANING OF "RELEVANCE." What we mean by "relevance" in education is implicit in the previous eight points. "Relevance" is more than teaching subject matter and providing experiences that the young say they find immediately meaningful, more interesting, and more useful to them. A relevant education, an education for survival, is one which introduces children and youth to participation in the tasks that they and adults confront together in the real world of the 1970's.

Furthermore, if we are to make rapid progress toward the successful attainment of a new central purpose for education, society must not only encourage but *require* that the schools work to produce a generation of hard-headed young people committed to survival yet remembering the meaning of compassion; persons who have been taught the *Realpolitik* of life with honesty but who are nonetheless untainted by cynicism because they believe that it is not yet too late to cope with man's threat to himself.

THE FIRST STEP IN REFORMATION. Making a beginning in reform is not up to "society" as an abstract entity but to each of us as the individuals who make up society. It is through a new sense of imprescriptible personal responsibility that we can dispel the threatening twilight that recently has shadowed our goals.

In the process of creating a more benign environment, some of our sensate pleasures and much of our conspicuous consumption must diminish. Also, today's thoughtless waste of human and material resources must first be decreased and then ended as quickly as possible. In the process, our lives will perforce become not only simpler and less hedonistic; they will become more people-centered and less thing-centered. This necessary redirection can bring us far more gain than loss. The satisfactions of 40 or 50 years ago were not necessarily less warm or less desirable because feet, bicycles, or street cars transported an older generation to shops, schools, or theatres!

Furthermore, the short and long range changes that an endangered world requires for its future well-being should also involve fewer tensions, less erosive competition, and a clearer, more relaxing perspective with regard to what is most worth doing and most worth having.

A CONCLUDING CONJECTURE. Assuming we do avoid extinction, there would seem to be two levels or kinds of survival for man: as a biological *species* and as *humans*. The eight survival learnings itemized here should help to ensure that the species is around for some time to come. If nothing else, sheer panic seems likely soon to motivate us to diminish the interrelated problems of ecology, of hunger, of waste, and of conflict.

To survive in a truly *human* context rather than a merely biological one is something else! Here we come to a more subtle aspect of a "survival kit" for young learners. Our rediscovery of purpose and of personal responsibility for the social and educational reforms that are prerequisite to physical survival is but one side of the coin.

There is the concomitant task of helping the young of each generation to discover for themselves a moral, aesthetic, intellectual, and scientific heritage that they see cause for making a part of themselves. Does it not then seem reasonable that our success in guiding this freshening, continuing rediscovery by the young of *what makes us human* is what gives the real meaning to "education for survival"?

And may one not rightly conjecture that as a society-of-the-individually-responsible accepts this task, it simultaneously could become its own best hope for survival through the rediscovery of sustaining purpose in education? ☐

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The Nature of Curricular Relevance

HARVEY GOLDMAN

OUR current concern with curricular relevance is by no means a recent phenomenon. In fact, two books [1] published in the 1930's *(The Saber-Tooth Curriculum* and *Experience and Education)* offer some of the finest and clearest sets of criteria available for the development of such curricula. Both Benjamin and Dewey possessed an awareness of the nature of learning that has not been excelled in recent decades.

Nevertheless, it also remains true that relatively few teachers have adequately put into effect relevant curricula which are responsive to the needs of children, individually as well as collectively.[2] (For purposes of clarification, relevant curricula are defined here as those designed to meet students' needs as perceived by those students.) That this is so is only partially the fault of teachers in general. Certainly, the demands of school

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[1] Harold Benjamin. *The Saber-Tooth Curriculum*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. 139 pp.; John Dewey. *Experience and Education*. New York: Collier Books, Fifth Printing, 1966. 91 pp. (Originally published in 1938 by Kappa Delta Pi.)

[2] William Van Til. "The Key Word Is Relevant." *Today's Education* 58: 14-17; January 1969.

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systems for conformity on the part of teachers, centralization of authority and decision making, and a hesitancy on the part of educators, both teachers and administrators, to serve as statesmen on behalf of those educational concerns which they knew to be desirable have all contributed to the present dilemma.

The failure to develop curricula that are responsive to the needs of children is evident when one reads the professional journals; article upon article cites the lack of relevance in contemporary curricula, the need for relating school experiences to those which the children encounter in their broader environments, and emphasizes the importance of the school as an aspect of the total community rather than as a separate entity in and of itself.

One of the most significant indications of the extent to which the schools have divorced themselves from the communities in which they are situated is the pressure being applied in our urban areas for schools to decentralize and enable local residents to exert greater influence on institutional policies.[3] The frustration and alienation which these people feel have only begun to surface, and we can anticipate additional pressures, which are fundamentally attempts to transmit control of the schools from centralized bureaucracies and impersonal school boards to the citizens most intimately concerned with the quality of education offered to children. Whether or not local control of community schools will actually result in improved educational opportunities for children remains to be seen.

There is little doubt that the existence of large concentrations of disadvantaged children, often Negro, who seemingly are unaffected by the schools which they are required to attend has precipitated this manifestation of concern for curricular relevance. The inability of schools to affect urban youth from lower socioeconomic groups has been amply documented; and this inability has continued to exist regardless of attempts to improve the learning environments in those schools. Pressures placed on the schools to educate more effectively the disadvantaged, the disaffected, and the alienated in both social and intellectual terms will increase as long as those persons view formal education as the prime route along which they must travel in order to enter the mainstream of society.

Incidentally, we should also be cognizant of the fact that most suburban schools are no more relevant than their urban counterparts. Miel [4] has succinctly portrayed the extent to which those schools have ignored the major social issues of our time and the degree to which their professional staffs were unable to cope with those problems even if they chose to do so. Basically, most suburban schools appear especially responsive to adults and only minimally responsive to children.

They not only do that which the parents demand; they do it *in the way that the parents demand it be done.* To the degree that this is true, educators have abrogated their professional responsibilities in favor of "consensus education." Data documenting the extent to which suburban educators continue to ignore their responsibilities to the broader social community continue to accumulate.[5] It is, perhaps, somewhat ironic that the students are the only meaningful voice in our suburban communities currently demanding greater relevance on the part of the schools.

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[3] For example, see the following: Board of Education of the City of New York. "Proposed Community School District: Detailed Summary of System Plans." *The New York Times,* Sunday, December 15, 1968.

[4] Alice Miel. *The Shortchanged Children of Suburbia.* New York: The Institute of Human Relations Press of the American Jewish Committee, 1967. 68 pp.

[5] Harvey Goldman. "A Survey of Efforts Made by Selected Milwaukee Area Suburban School Systems To Promote More Adequate Intergroup Education." Milwaukee: The American Jewish Committee, March 1968. 34+ pp.

Criteria of Relevance

Some contend that there is not any "prescription" for teachers to utilize when adapting curricular content to meet criteria of relevance,[6] that each teacher must "use his intelligence in relating the required content to the world of the learner." If true, then any attempts to develop criteria for relevance by those who previously have been successful in a given endeavor would prove futile. Eccles [7] clearly implies that those aspects of human nature which prevent us from taking full advantage of the past experiences of others act as a deterrent to human progress and preclude the development of solutions to complex problems.

There are, quite clearly, certain criteria which have repeatedly been associated with the concept of relevancy and which have been espoused by philosophers as well as educational practitioners; and it is these which constitute the core of any "prescription" offered as a guide to those who must act at the front line and who are charged with the responsibility of translating such concepts into tangible educative experiences.

An awareness of the fact that there are characteristics which are not, and should not be, associated with the concept of curricular relevance is also necessary. Such curricula are not developed by children in an attempt to translate their personal interests into educational experiences; they are, rather, developed by teachers after intensive study of the students, their interests and aspirations, the immediate community, and the broader concerns of the total society. Second, it is not one with reference to which teachers play a passive role; in fact, quite the opposite is true. Third, the establishment of reasonable guidelines within which children must act is not left to the students; while the students may participate in their development, it is clearly the responsibility of the teacher to ensure that the behavior of the students is channeled toward the desired educative ends. Fourth, a relevant curriculum cannot be totally teacher-designed; the sheer magnitude of the task precludes any such eventuality and ensures that significant segments of the curriculum will be standardized and commercially available.[8]

At this point, turning to the criteria which constitute the conceptual framework on which relevant curricula are based, we find the following:

1. *A relevant curriculum is active rather than passive.*[9] It is based on the assumption that students learn by doing. In such cases, teachers' lectures or assigned readings will constitute only a minor part of the planned learning experiences. The school will also expand its concept of what constitutes the parameters within which children will be confined for educative experiences and will come to view the total community as a learning laboratory and a part of the curriculum. Children will spend a considerable portion of time testing hypotheses which they developed and learning to generalize both deductively and inductively.

2. *A relevant curriculum will deal with values.*[10] The existence of personal, community, and societal values, some of which are occasionally in conflict with one another, is faced whenever students are placed in a position where alternatives must be considered. While no educator should ever permit himself to adopt the indefensible position of attempting to teach children the "correct" values, neither should he exclude their consideration from the classroom because of their controversial nature.

3. *A relevant curriculum should be based on experiences with which children are familiar*

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[6] William Van Til, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[7] Henry E. Eccles. *Military Concepts and Philosophy*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965. pp. 21-26.

[8] Harvey Goldman and Luther Pfluger. "Multiple Curricula: A Strategy for Selection." *Educational Leadership* 26 (7): 688-92; April 1969.

[9] John Dewey, *op. cit.*

[10] Chris Buethe. "A Curriculum of Value." *Educational Leadership* 26 (1): 31-33; October 1968.

and in which they are interested.[11] There are few, if any, means at the disposal of the schools to force students to learn. They will learn about the things which interest them. Thus, it seems only sensible for the schools to begin the learning process with areas about which the children are already motivated and ready to put forth effort.

4. *The learners must be guided into new areas of concern.* Since no one would argue that the children's interests should be the entire basis for a relevant curriculum, the teacher must be responsible for skillfully leading the students into additional areas of concern which emanate from their original interests. Since every area in which children can manifest interest has both historical antecedents and future implications, the teacher has a ready-made "ladder" along which to lead the children on a step-by-step basis.

5. *A teacher can present the same concepts to children within the framework of a relevant curriculum as are offered through more conventional curricula.* It is, however, anticipated that different materials and techniques will be utilized in arriving at the agreed upon goals.

For example, in second grade social studies, the students usually study the community. Rather than relying as heavily upon the currently widespread approach of combined textbook and discussion, the children could spend more time gathering data about their own community and undertake the development of hypotheses relative to the nature of a community based on the data. With their teacher's assistance they could count the number of stores, service stations, one-family and two-family homes, apartment buildings, bars, churches, and abandoned cars and then utilize these data in the formulation of hypotheses. Questions could be raised about why some communities are composed of all Negro residents while others contain all white residents.

Concepts such as community cohesiveness and/or fragmentation, the influence of group morale, and the nature of community pride could be introduced. The students could attempt to figure out what a community really is, with the teacher helping them to approach the topic from the points of view expressed by such diverse disciplines as sociology, economics, anthropology, or psychology. Intra- and inter-community comparisons could be made. The historical derivation of their community could be explored; the future needs of their community could be studied, taking into account factors such as the technological revolution and current racial and/or ethnic conflict. Teachers and students could interview parents and other community representatives and the children could then integrate the insights derived from this process into their conceptual frameworks.

The teaching of language arts and reading could follow a similar approach. Students could utilize their social studies units as bases for writing stories of interest to them. In cases where children were unable to write, they could dictate their ideas to tape recorders, aides, or teachers. The compilation of these stories into loose-leaf "books" made available to all members of the class would provide them with relevant texts and also enable the teachers to deal with their classes as single units when necessary for purposes of group or individual reading.

Stories of this nature should focus on topics of interest to students. At the elementary level, interest in fields such as death, birth, space, flight, sports, personal fears and ambitions, family strengths and weaknesses, self-evaluation, and individual differences are likely to be manifested. Secondary students will quite probably examine such areas as dating, sex, ethics, ethnicity, racial conflict, the quality of the education enterprise, the "establishment," their conceptions of an equitable society, the use of power, and others which fall within the context of their normal out-of-school conversations.

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[11] Vincent Lanier. "The Teaching of Art as Social Revolution." *Phi Delta Kappan* 50: 314-19; February 1969.

Related Considerations

The fact of the matter is that the vast majority of teachers are now able to effect a relevant curriculum, and would do so if the necessary conditions were implemented. This is an especially important point for administrators and supervisors to note. Given the current conditions in the vast majority of schools, however, it is literally impossible for most teachers to develop relevant curricula.

First, the development of relevant curricula is largely dependent on a team teaching approach to instruction. The form that the teams take is incidental, but some carefully thought out cooperative approach to teaching children is necessary. If teachers are to meet the criteria of relevance they must have time during the day to think, to plan, to leave the building when necessary for instruction-related purposes, and to confer with one another.

Clearly, schools organized on a self-contained classroom basis do not, and cannot, provide such opportunities. It is only in some form of team teaching arrangement where teachers sometimes deal with large groups of children, occasionally with small groups or a single student, and at other times are not in contact with children at all that the needed opportunities will be available. Also, since no teacher can "be all things to all people," the pooling of professional talents that takes place in teaching teams facilitates the development of relevant curricula by making available to students broader ranges and types of competencies. Thus, the current demands being made of teachers housed in self-contained classrooms can only result in frustration and poor staff morale; the majority of teachers know what to do, and even how to do it, but are blocked by conditions inherent in the nature of their assignments.

Second, the relationship of building level administrators and curriculum supervisors to teachers will have to undergo considerable modification. This will, in all probability, also necessitate considerable change in their roles. The process through which teachers are normally evaluated by principals will have to be modified extensively. This should be a change that principals will be glad to see occur since they have not, for the most part, devoted enough time to the task nor been willing to face the harsh realities of attempting to define poor teaching. Once organized into instructional teams, the supervision and improvement of the instructional process will become a built-in responsibility of the team, and one for which all participants will have to assume some responsibility; this is to say that the team will have to assume responsibility for assuring its own effectiveness, and this will require the members to assist each other in improving the quality of instruction.

Supervisors, rather than continuing as personnel who help teachers improve their professional skills through the processes of observation, consultation, and demonstration, will instead become "translators of research," individuals who constantly scan the available research in their areas of concern and who organize small group seminars during which they work with teachers to help them become aware of the implications that such research has for them as they operate within their instructional teams.

Third, teachers will have to commit themselves to seeking solutions for instructional and interpersonal problems within their team structures or provide a procedure through which such matters can be handled, one possibility being binding arbitration by a person outside the team. In essence, the team approach to instruction requires that the members find ways to integrate their professional and personal skills into a smoothly functioning unit; those unable to do so, and unwilling to accept external mediation, may find it necessary to seek another school, another system, or perhaps even another profession.

In conclusion, it would appear that the development of relevant curricula is a task that teachers are prepared to undertake, but that it is unreasonable to expect them to do so unless related organizational and role changes which would provide teachers with the necessary freedom are also effected.

What this implies is that communities can have the kind of education they want for their children. And school systems can look forward to changes in their teaching staffs that will permit them to become more effective than is now the case. However, communities and school systems cannot hope to have these changes take place unless they too are willing to make some commitment to change within their own ranks that would provide teachers with an opportunity to be successful in their new roles. There are some indications that classroom teachers are now more inclined to make the necessary changes than are their administrative superiors who are caught in a web of internal politics and who view those operating at the "front line" with varying degrees of suspicion.

Until these concomitant changes occur, increased pressure upon teachers for "instant relevance" will only result in more militant teachers who will be increasingly content to rely upon teachers organizations to defend their integrity. ☐

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The Nurture of Nature

(An Editorial)

FRED T. WILHELMS

PROFESSOR Hans Furth of Catholic University thinks that in the early grades we put 'way too much emphasis on teaching reading. His reason may surprise you. It is not that reading is unimportant, but that *learning to read is such a low level cognitive exercise!* He proposes a "school for thinking," because building the power for knowing pays off better than implanting the knowledge itself.

Forgive me, Hans, for so crude a summary of your complex ideas. But your proposal epitomizes a perception of human intelligence that is gathering such intensity it may revolutionize education. The basic fact is known: Whether you study mice or rats or dogs or monkeys—or people—you find that "intelligence" is not a passive, static thing; it grows out of the potentials of the organism interacting dynamically with the potentials of the environment. Whatever may have been born into the organism to begin with, its development can be held low by a barren environment or pushed high by rich opportunity. That much is known. And in a human being the range between the possible low and the possible high is very, very great.

Knowing that much, we move naturally to the fundamental questions: How can we shape the environment to potentiate whatever the child was born with? Rather than merely tool up a child at the current level of his "native intelligence," can we plan a campaign to change the level of that "intelligence" itself, to increase the power to learn

Fred T. Wilhelms, ASCD Senior Associate, Washington, D.C. In 1970, ASCD Executive Secretary and to know? The best of modern psychology says we can—and there is no greater message of hope in the educational world today. Now it is up to us teachers to figure out how to do it, and that is what this article is all about.

For several years I have been keeping one eye on the developing evidence, and I should like to risk a few more-or-less educated guesses on the way things will go.

The easiest time to create big gains is when the child is very young. Therefore, I think, our first target must be the parents, especially the mother. For one thing we must effect a partnership between education and the health services, so that even in the prenatal period the mother has good nutrition, including essential minerals and vitamins, and so that the baby is properly fed and cared for. We have the resources to teach young parents (in advance, while they are in our schools, but also whenever they need us), but we need an alliance with other specialists. For another thing it will be essential to teach parents how to play with their infants, how to talk with them, how to arouse and stretch their minds. Games and talk are no mere pleasant incidentals; they can get enormously important learnings going during the sensorimotor period and when the child is beginning to talk.

Inevitably there will be a fundamental decision as to how early the school should enter the picture. There will be a clash between our ideal of keeping the child in the home and our anxiety about the damage done by homes that perform poorly. My guess is that we shall come to some form of schooling around age three. My hope is that we can tie this closely to the parents and teach them as we begin to teach their children. With a little time at school under the supervision of experts—and much more time with parents who have been taught what to do—we can greatly sharpen sensory perception, stimulate active encounter with the resources of the environment, enrich vocabulary and the use of symbols, and lay the foundations of a simple logic. And all this can be done in an aura of affectionate fun, accompanied by really good physical care.

The immediately ensuing period has already had considerable attention, in nursery schools, in Operation Head Start, and so on. Great technical questions remain to be solved. But it is probably the period of least hazard, if only we universalize prekindergartens as well as kindergartens.

But then the trouble starts again! As Furth might put it, we get utterly preoccupied with teaching reading—and arithmetic, and, a little later, geography and whatnot. We grow a bit grim. The older child's time is too important for fooling around. There is subject matter to be covered.

Power for Knowing

If we really believe that we can improve the power for knowing as well as the stock of knowledge itself, we are going to have to change that radically. Furth's "school for thinking" may provide one model. The "discovery" and "inquiry" approaches certainly have much to offer. But we may easily become too verbal, too abstract, too separated from reality. We have much to learn about maintaining an alert sensory push. We need to go on sharpening visual, auditory, olfactory, and tactile acuity—the tendency to *notice* and *discriminate*. We need to teach abilities to classify and reason and generalize. None of this will be too difficult to learn if we believe in the purpose.

But then comes a time of even greater hazard. Most secondary school people turn off their brains whenever the talk turns to "creating intelligence." They have been taught all too well that about half the intelligence a person will ever have is already present when he enters the first grade and most of the rest when he leaves the sixth. It's not their problem!

Yet, wait a minute! Think back to Piaget, who is the fountainhead of most of the thinking about the early years. In his own scheme of development, the stage of formal operations only begins at about the first year of the middle school. What does this mean in practice? It means that what Hilda Taba called the *higher processes* of thought are chiefly the domain of the secondary school!

If we are genuinely concerned with enhancing cognitive power, are we going to stop with the sensorimotor stage, perceptual sharpening, and Piaget's concrete operations? That would be a curious event.

Taba did her experimental work with upper-grade children, but she never thought it would stop there. Just before her death she was busily and enthusiastically demonstrating that we can teach even the lower IQ children to reason, to study a mass of data and make a generalization, to move to a new situation and transfer or modify old conclusions, as appropriate. She was saying that you can take the "higher processes" apart and systematically teach their component parts—and then put them together. Maybe this is the level where, most of all, we need a "school for thinking."

What stands in our road? Fact-mongering, mostly.

The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

Fact-mongering is the schools' peculiar form of "getting and spending," and lays waste our children's powers. Ground to be covered. Knowledge to be accumulated. And in the meantime the essential *power* for learning barely holds its own.

Research is proving, inch by inch, that that power itself can be deliberately cultivated, with no known bounds. If this is true, it cannot be less than the most important truth in the entire cognitive domain. What particular increment in knowledge can possibly be as important as an increment in the power to know? The two are not mutually exclusive; quite the contrary! But if one had to be sacrificed, for the moment, which should it be?

What we need, at bottom, is faith in the human organism. ☐

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Sensitivity Education

STEPHEN M. COREY
ELINOR K. COREY

● *What is sensitivity education all about?*

Sensitivity education helps people become more *aware* of, more *sensitive* to, what happens as they react to one another, especially in face-to-face situations. It helps men and women and boys and girls perceive what they do to one another, and to themselves, in the give and take of face-to-face communication.

When sensitivity education is successful, more of these interaction events, hope-

Stephen M. Corey, Professor of Education Emeritus, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City; and Elinor K. Corey

fully, are taken into account. People get in closer touch with themselves and with the others they live and work with.

- *Is there a difference between sensitivity education and sensitivity training?*

Not much, if any. Many school people seem to dislike the implications of the word "training" and associate it with less important activities.

The expression sensitivity education suggests two things that sensitivity training may not. First, the setting for sensitivity education is more apt to be in formal institutions of education—schools or colleges. Second, attempts to increase sensitivity represent a continuous and pervasive emphasis rather than being intensive and focal as is usually the case in sensitivity training.

- *Isn't there great variation in what is done and called sensitivity education?*

Yes, the procedures vary greatly. No one seems to have arrived at the final answer as to how increased sensitivity can best be brought about. The central purpose of all sensitivity education, though, is to help people become more aware of what happens when there is face-to-face interaction. This is the case even when other expressions are used, such as encounter groups or T-groups.

- *Should high priority be placed on including more sensitivity education in the schools?*

It is hard to imagine anything more important at the present time than the improvement of human relations, and that is what successful sensitivity education furthers. Our material wealth is unbelievable but we often seem to be in the Dark Ages in our human relationships. The evidence of our inability to sense, and subsequently to do enough about, the horrible and terrifying effects people have on one another is heartbreaking. Sensitivity education is needed in large amounts and throughout our lifetime.

- *Why is the term "laboratory" used so often in discussions of sensitivity education or sensitivity training?*

The word "laboratory" calls attention to the fact that sensitivity education is most apt to be furthered in a setting in which people are actively reacting to one another rather than by reading about such interactions and discussing what has been read. This means a laboratory rather than an academic setting. Historically, all aspects of human relations training have tended to be academic. It was believed that if relevant information was learned and certain slogans were accepted and repeated, human relations sensitivity as an aspect of improved human relations would almost automatically take place.

- *What is the most important single thing a teacher might do to further sensitivity in the classroom?*

The first essential step is to try to create a classroom climate that encourages boys and girls to report and discuss the way they are feeling about themselves and one another and their teacher. Usually these expressions of feelings are discouraged and punished.

- *When did sensitivity education in the sense of this discussion get started?*

Unusual individual teachers have for a long time helped boys and girls become more aware of themselves and of one another. As a so-called "movement," however, the National Training Laboratory in Group Development got under way more than 20 years ago and its influence has been great. This Laboratory, along with the numerous training activities developed later at Esalen in northern California, is often cited as being most influential in the spread of sensitivity education or training ideas and practices.

● *Many people talk about sensitivity training as if it were a kind of therapy. Is it?*

Most of the meaningful interactions between two or more people probably have therapeutic potential. This is most apt to be true if the interactions are relatively frank and their effects are reported and considered immediately and thoughtfully. There may be some difference in therapeutic implications between sensitivity education undertaken primarily to enable people to work together better and that undertaken primarily to further their personal development.

The National Training Laboratory started out with emphasis on the former. Esalen activities have more to do with personal growth and are probably more consistently therapeutic.

● *What is the reason for the rather recent surge of interest in sensitivity education?*

There are probably many reasons. One is that many people who have had some of it report that they were benefited. Another important reason, undoubtedly, is our serious and increasing concern and worry about the quality of modern human life—our worry about the effect of the total environment, including other people, on the quality of human existence.

● *Does sensitivity education require a group context?*

In the sense in which the words are used here, yes. In order for human relations events to occur, so that there can be practice in perceiving them, people must actively interact. This requires at least two people, face-to-face. The worth of these interactions for sensitivity education is greatly enhanced if the members of the group within which they take place try to observe certain ground rules.

● *What are some of these sensitivity education ground rules?*

One calls attention to the desirability of reporting frankly the feelings and thoughts that the interactions provoke. And they must be reported in the "here and now," so to speak, because doing so greatly helps the group members understand interrelationships among human interaction events. Another ground rule discourages long explanations and references to personal biography. Confrontation is favored. Politeness and evasiveness and sparring are discouraged. The point to most of these rules, whether they are explicit or implicit, is that they further the honest reporting and discussing of human relations events *as they take place.* Only when they are so reported are they available for study, and only when their context has been shared can they be helpfully examined and understood.

● *Is sensitivity education beneficial to very young children?*

There is no lower or upper age limit for some form of sensitivity education. Children in nursery schools have been helped to become more aware of the effects of their interpersonal behavior on other children and on themselves. They can be helped to keep in closer touch with the way they feel about and perceive what other people do to them and what they do to other people.

● *Most sensitivity training seems to be quite intensive, like a course or subject. Is this the case for sensitivity education?*

Sensitivity education or training can either be intensive and focal or continuous and undertaken to implement some larger purpose. All school experience should represent continuous sensitivity education in the sense that it exploits opportunities to further constructive human relationships. Doing so is the central purpose for sensitivity education. Any "subject matter" will be better learned in a classroom that is a good laboratory for human relations. To try to teach arithmetic or chemistry or whatever to groups of children and pay no attention to the effects they are having on one another and their feelings about their teacher is to be blind to important influences on learning.

- *Why do discussions of sensitivity education so often get heated?*

Sensitivity education has much to do with the emotions and increased candor in their expression. This troubles many people because the culture most of us have learned almost forces us to inhibit or disguise our feelings. People who have benefited from sensitivity education are apt to be more candid. This stirs things up.

- *Are not some people violently opposed to the whole idea of sensitivity training or sensitivity education?*

They certainly are. We have not yet learned to deal with human relationships in general very objectively. Claims for sensitivity education often get pretty wild as do the objections. The kind of candor that characterizes sensitivity training groups threatens many people. Some have reported particular sensitivity training experiences as devastating, and these reports circulate and get exaggerated. When anyone is relatively unaware of his emotions, and of those of others, he is apt to believe that the emotions are not very important. Anyone who is grown up, some critics say, should be able to handle his emotions. Education to this end wastes time.

- *Do people who advocate sensitivity education have common values or a common life style?*

They would appear to be a pretty heterogeneous lot from the point of view of life style. A majority, though, seem to be much concerned with getting as much pleasure as is possible from the "here and now" and from human relationships in general. This, when and if it is recognized, arouses conflict with what many of us have been taught to believe about the inevitability and wholesome disciplinary value of suffering and pain and the postponement of pleasure and the hazards in its quest.

- *What might be a good way to learn more about sensitivity education?*

Try to get in a sensitivity education or sensitivity training group with other knowledgeable and responsible people. Try in your everyday work to increase your perceptions of the effects people are having on one another. You probably would be surprised at the cues you have overlooked. Try to make more visible to your pupils or students what they are doing to one another as they interact in class. Forget, for a while, any evaluation of these effects. Just try to see them and check their correctness. Try, too, to make more visible the effects you have on the young people and the effects they have on you. This could be a good start toward sensitivity education. □

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Founding a Peoples College

RAYMOND W. HOUGHTON

MY MOTHER-IN-LAW, Mrs. Bradbury, was one of the finest ladies I have ever known. She used to talk with Professor H. H. Benjamin of Mary Stuart, née Stewart, and of King Henry, and Anne, and of the later Jacobites in Scotland, of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the MacDonalds and the Camerons.

Professor Benjamin knew of them well and they sat long evenings in my house and in her house and laughed and debated and instructed one another. I could but listen in my ignorance. Mrs. Bradbury, an orphan in "the old country," had perhaps a sixth-grade education and a lifetime in the mills of Pawtucket.

"Annie, why don't you go to the college and take some courses in English history?"

"Oh, shush! I'm too old for that and they'd never let me in."

And she was right for the most part. But why not a peoples university, I wondered. They have them in Scandinavia and they have free universities around the world in Spain and in Germany and in places in America, even.

I often thought of starting one, and did, after a fashion, in my church—a Freewill Baptist university for about fifteen adults—but that was all.

When Martin Luther King was murdered I lay awake asking what could be done. Nothing, probably, but the next day I spoke to Irving Fain about it and to Luke Fears about it. I saw Luke at a memorial service in his church. He and the Bishop invited me to talk to the parishioners about a free university in the inner city of Providence. Irving spoke to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of State Colleges in Rhode Island. On the following Wednesday, the day Martin Luther King was buried, we presented the following idea to the full Board:

The Problem

Martin Luther King is dead and the world will never be the same. It might be worse, and probably will. It might, through some miracle, be better. To hope, to aspire is as human as to sustain despair.

The McLuhan Message

Marshall McLuhan has reminded us that we have evolved to a new tribalism. Once more his vision was made manifest as one of our tribal esteemed was snatched away in the midst of our global village and the word was instantaneously received in our electric age living rooms. The event shattered the already uneasy expectancy of an already traumatic week. The murder of a President five years ago had prepared us well; but our vast experience with murder and violence, real in Dallas and Southeast Asia, fictional on the Ponderosa and Route 66, has not fully conditioned us to casual acceptance.

And the response is immediate. "Wud ya think of that, Ma? J.F.K. and M.L.K. I wonder when they'll play the reruns of the original? Maybe we'll get an Easter spectacular on the Hallmark Hall of Fame."

The President responded, and the *Manchester Guardian* responded, and other global chieftains shared their grief in glorious color before the evening was out and the omnipresent eye shrunk to sleep till *Today*.

Raymond W. Houghton, Professor of Education, Rhode Island College, Providence

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It matters little whether the world was always as violent, whether conflict was always as encompassing, or whether the new media age simply keeps us more immediately reminded. Whether we are on the verge of self-extinction, or whether our self-view makes it appear that we might as well be, does not change the horrendous vision.

A Challenge

The voices have been speaking but we haven't chosen to listen. Whitney Young told us once more at 1:17 a.m. on the morning of April 5. The time for talk has run out. Positive, decisive, and immediate action must be taken. And he was speaking of more than absurd racial divisiveness. He was speaking of the moral posture of all mankind.

On Ideas

But ideas die aborning. For ideas by their very nature tend to be self-indicting. They infer that all is not right with the world. They cry out for change and in our overpowering insecurity with collective thumbs in collective mouths, we say, "God, no! Never change! We're insecure enough already!"

For ideas beget change and change begets anxiety. And anxiety begets immobility. And the beat goes on.

We do not change because we do not want to change. Our security is in our established institutionalized arrangements.

But if the trauma of a wrenching event has the force to drive us into true existential despair, perhaps, just perhaps, we may dare to confront with an idea.

Education as Failure

Mankind is self-consciously inquisitive. Man tends to wonder about himself and others and the environment he lives in. Society has found it simpler, more efficient, though hardly effective, to create an educational bureaucracy to teach him what it wants him to know about what he wants to know.

Mankind has a naïve, though often unfounded, faith in the institution of education. Man believes in it although it has not made him what he might devoutly hope to be. It has provided many with creature comforts but not morality. It has given him means of survival and brought him to the brink of destruction. But he tends to seek education and to pay for the institutions he desperately hopes will provide it. In its bureaucratized imperfection it tends to disappoint. For while some seem to profit (more materially than spiritually; the proportion of saints is hardly burgeoning), others find it disappointing if not downright impossible. We have not succeeded yet in establishing truly humane institutions of learning.

The Plan

It is in the spirit of trying again that the notion is proposed for the establishment of the Martin Luther King Center for Higher Education of the Rhode Island State College System. The King Center would be an inner city experimental collegiate project established in the City of Providence to provide education toward humaneness for citizens of the state.

Facilities

The plan for such a project would be relatively simple and at the same time infinitely complex. It would be the proposal to lease a tenement building in the inner city, and to renovate it to contain space for an office, an assembly hall, several classrooms, meeting rooms, studios, a media area, a paperback bookstore, a lounge, and study carrels.

Staff

There would be need to hire a full-time director, an assistant director, a secretary, a clerk, a librarian/media specialist, a technician, and a custodian. There would be, in addition, a part-time staff of educational counselors and instructors to be recruited from the university, the college, and the junior college.

Curriculum

All courses in the center would be developed from the themes: Who am I? What am I? Where am I? What is the world like? Whom do I live with? What has happened here? What is our mythology? What are our inventions (communicative, economic, political, theological, philosophical, sociological, psychological)? What are our manifestations? What do we say? How have we said it (art, music, literature)? How do we survive (architecture, medicine)? What does it mean to be human?

There would be no permanent courses and no fixed curriculum. Professors would invent courses, and students would invent courses based on their mutual questions and their individual conceptions of the world.

In as far as would be possible, data, pure data, would be fed by technology. Media would be used as far as possible to transmit basic cognitive knowledge. Moving pictures, television, tapes, recordings, radio, and periodicals would provide a multimedia approach to knowing. It would be the function of teachers to interpret, question, discuss, counsel, and guide learning. Such courses would be based on ideas.

Other courses and seminars would be based on men. It would be possible to take a course on John Chafee or William Miller, or Dennis Roberts or Francis Madeira or Fr. Henry Sheldon or Ed Brown or Jim Williams. Seminars might last a week, a month, or three months.

Other seminars might invite regional or national figures to come to Rhode Island for a week at a time to share themselves with the King Center and the other state colleges.

Courses would have no fixed schedules. There would be no marks and no fixed credits.

Branching

As individual weaknesses are diagnosed in students, a concept of academic branching would be instituted whereby new group and individual courses and study would be produced such as reading, writing, speaking, listening, group leadership, community research, cross-ethnic, racial, and social class experiences. (What are upper class people really like?)

The community could become the classroom. All of Rhode Island, all the world would be the resource material for the center. Museums, galleries, industry, schools, moving picture theatres, Trinity Square Playhouse, Veterans Auditorium, the docks, the bay, the cities, the airport would all be the environment for learning.

It might be that any course invented by anyone might be offered if it had takers. Anyone in the state might well be a volunteer counselor for someone who wants to know what the counselor might be able to share.

It could be that the center could creatively become the place where anyone could come to learn anything he wishes to know, any skill, any knowledge, any understanding, any attitude, any feeling. It might become an educational brokerage house putting people in touch with people, sharing what they mutually know.

A Peoples College

In short, the Martin Luther King Center would be *A Peoples College*. It should be truly a college where what would be taught would be taught at the highest level of meaning, much in the way that agriculture became a sophisticated field of study within the land grant college movement.

The College Opens

The Board, in the emotion of the moment, bought the idea and sent it to a committee to study. The most difficult part was to convince the academic community. After two months of dialogue, an intercollegiate committee recommended that the idea be tried.

From the beginning the community was involved. Begrudgingly, at first, the academic community began to work with the inner city community. Charles Fortes, a local community organizer and former National Maritime Union official, William Lopes, a young recent college graduate, Iola Mabray, a housewife, Mr. Fears, a gospel choir director, Ernest Costa, a bartender, and scores of others in the city worked to develop the plan, to build a "non-curriculum," to recruit students, to raise money (for while the Board endorsed the plan, it could provide no money).

The Chancellor of State Colleges in Rhode Island, Lawrence Dennis, worked tirelessly to help. Faculty members from eight colleges in Rhode Island volunteered their services.

On October 7, 1968, after incredible

difficulties, the Urban Educational Center of Rhode Island opened its doors with packing boxes stacked all around, without books, furniture, blackboards—nothing but students who came to learn and to teach and teachers who came to teach and to learn.

In January, after a nationwide search, Mr. Hercules M. Porter came to replace this writer as director, and by June six students had earned a one-year diploma.

The UEC was two years old in October 1970. Over 300 students had been served by the center. It had run seminars for public school teachers. Its staff had worked with the courts, with public agencies, and with the schools. Its students served with faculty, administrators, and community members to form a council which runs the school.

All is not as had been planned. This writer is dismayed by the formality which has come over the center, although it scarcely resembles a traditional college. The courses are not quite as divergent as this writer had hoped. While it has served and has been served by radical militants, delinquents, dropouts, old people, and young people, it still does not fully serve the disaffected community known as really "hard core."

But it's still there. It's still run by the community. It's still largely black in outlook and attitude although whites come and are, for the most part, welcome.

UEC is not an invention for all cities. Providence needs other kinds of UEC's. But Providence already has one. Most cities do not. □

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Free Schools: Pandora's Box?

JOSHUA L. SMITH

Pandora. The first woman, according to Greek mythology. She was made of clay by Vulcan, and all the gods made presents to her. Venus gave her beauty and the art of pleasing; the Graces gave her the power of captivating; Apollo taught her how to sing; Mercury instructed her in eloquence and brought her to Epimetheus, who made her his wife, forgetting the advice of his brother Prometheus, not to receive gifts that came from Jupiter. In her home she found a box which she was forbidden to open. Disobeying the injunction she allowed to escape all the evils of life except hope. According to another version, all the blessings of life except hope, which remained to solace mortals. —*Lincoln Library of Essential Information,* Vol. 1.

HAVE free schools opened Pandora's Box?

A number of educators would say indeed that they have. They operate on a financial shoestring; they are housed in inadequate buildings, some of which amount to no more than storefronts; they are using volunteer teachers; some of them are paying

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their teachers as little as $100 per month; they do not exercise proper control over the students; they allow lay people too much authority for the overall direction of the schools; the children are not learning anything.

To have been a public school teacher and an administrator does not prepare one for what will be encountered after walking through the doors of a free school. Although my visits can hardly be termed a comprehensive survey of all the forms of free schools that are springing up all over the United States, I still find some of the basic notions which I held as a teacher to have been severely shaken as a result of having visited several schools which might be termed representative of the type.

I was immediately struck, upon my first visit, by the air of freedom and by the lack of teachers playing the traditional role of policeman. In none of the schools that I visited did I see teachers standing in the corridors demanding passes and requiring students to account for their presence. This observation was consistent whether the schools were elementary or secondary. Indeed, while it was easy to distinguish between teacher and student in the elementary free schools, I had considerable difficulty in doing the same in those that were secondary schools.

The Movement Begins

While private schools have existed for almost as long as public schools and find their roots in the mid-17th century, and while parochial schools can be traced back at least to the early 18th century, the so-called "free school" movement is a relatively new phenomenon. For the purposes of definition, I wish to term the free school as one that is established within communities, frequently with very low tuition or none at all, as an alternative to the public system; these alternatives usually are established as a result of either perceived inequality or perceived inhumanity.

As a result of several years of strife and bickering between the Boston School Committee and the Black Community, the free school movement began in 1965 with the establishment of the New School for Children. Since that time, three more such schools have been established in Boston, two of them community based, and one of them an experimental school supported by state funding. Similar schools can be found in other major cities of the country, and all of them seem to have been established as the result of parental dissatisfaction with the performance of the public schools and with what parents perceived as inequality of opportunity for their children.

Free schools can also be found in Milwaukee; Washington, D.C.; Newark, New Jersey; San Francisco; Rochester, New York; Albany, New York; and many other places across the country. (It would be almost impossible to provide a comprehensive list of the various free schools that have been springing up throughout the country within the past several years.) The four schools in Boston, at the moment, are elementary schools, although one has offerings through the eighth grade. All of them tend to be models of parental involvement. Struggling for a few years to place themselves upon a firm financial base, these schools have nevertheless been able to demonstrate some measure of academic success, particularly with children who were failing according to public school criteria.

The three private schools (the New School for Children, the Roxbury Community School, and the Highland Park Free School) have developed a program, the basic model for which might be called a combination of the British open classroom and team teaching. Each classroom is staffed by a teacher who is certifiable under state standards and by a person termed by the schools "a community teacher," a parent from the community who serves as a paraprofessional aide for the teacher. However, unlike the use of aides in some public school districts, the community teachers in these free schools have a major teaching function in which they serve as learning resources for children and help to ensure that each student receives individual attention from an adult.

While many of the certified teachers are young people beginning their careers, not all are, and many of the more experienced teachers in these schools have been attracted from public school ranks because of a feeling that they might enjoy greater freedom within their classrooms. Policy decision making is shared jointly among parents and teachers.

Street Academies

Several privately funded efforts exist for secondary students, and the most spectacular of these models can be found in New York City. Here, working largely with contributions from industry, a complex of street academies has been serving public school dropouts for the past several years. In one sense, it can be said that the students who attend the street academies have been written off by the public schools as failures. Yet one can find, operating in small inadequate storefronts, many examples of successful teaching of basic skills to students who for years were inadequately served by the public schools.

These street academies all have on their staff street workers who go out into the community to recruit students. When they discover students with college potential, these students are sent on to the Harlem Preparatory School, which is housed in a former supermarket in central Harlem. Such a discovery is an emotional experience from which one does not soon recover. This preparatory school serves some 400 students of high school age and beyond. In its classrooms one is almost overcome by the huge cloud of cigarette smoke which hangs near the ceiling. The smoke probably typifies the air of informality in the relationship that exists between teachers and students.

Moving about with the Headmaster, Edward Carpenter, from class to class (classes are separated only by shoulder-height partitions), one is constantly aware of a tremendous *esprit de corps* that is buttressed by all teachers and that serves to provide students with a psychological atmosphere that permeates the institution and that seems to convince one that everyone will succeed.

To listen to or to read what students produce in their communication classes causes feelings of sadness, joy, and rage. Sadness because of the depth of feeling which students express about their environment, joy because of the ability of students to use words or film creatively, and rage because one realizes that all of these students are dropouts from the public system. While instructional methods that are used tend to be traditional and classes are large, one does not find teachers worrying about control, for the *esprit de corps* that is created seems to eliminate the discipline problems.

Success seems to permeate the institution, and it is apparent from the record produced by graduates of Harlem Preparatory School that they leave the institution with sufficient psychological bolstering that they are able to go off to some 300 colleges around the United States and to remain there as successful students. Of the 205 students that have graduated from Harlem Prep in the past four years, only four have dropped out.

Alternatives to Alienation

Alienation from schools as institutions is not a phenomenon that is limited to central cities or to ghetto communities. The malaise that seems to have affected some of our college students has filtered into the high schools and in some instances even into the junior high schools. Accordingly, a few public school systems have begun to provide alternative structures within the system.

Perhaps the most dramatic alternative found within a large city is the Parkway School Program in Philadelphia, where students are drawing upon the resources of the community for their instruction. Since so much has been written about the Parkway School, there is little need to describe the model here other than to say that as far as students are concerned, it has attracted so much attention that a lottery must be conducted annually in order to take care of the avalanche of applications.

In a suburban community, Newton, Massachusetts, the Murray Road School was begun three years ago as an annex to the Newton High School. Seeking to better serve students who were alienated from regular high school programs (and alienation seems to have crossed ability levels), the school district turned over to five teachers and 100 students a surplus elementary school. Working together in a town meeting form of government, and without an administrator, the five teachers and students cooperatively plan the direction of the school. Parents, students, and teachers remain enthusiastic about the degree of freedom and responsibility that is placed upon students.

Three thousand miles away, Herbert Kohl, the author of *Thirty-Six Children,* two years ago began an alternative within the system as well. His program, "Other Ways," is also an attempt to respond to the needs of students who find themselves alienated from the existing public high school and who function better in a less structured atmosphere.

Drawing upon the experience of Other Ways, during this school year a variety of educational options are being developed within the Berkeley Public Schools to include the entire range of grades. Behind all of the options which are being developed is the underlying philosophy that there are benefits to be gained from pluralism, that diversity should be encouraged, and that, because of diversity, there are individual learning styles that can best be served by the provision of a variety of alternatives and styles of instruction.

Also in the Bay area, there is another school that could be termed an alternative to the public system, although it has taken a form far different from others. Serving children from ages three to nine, the Multi-Culture Institute of San Francisco is designed to provide students with a knowledge of their own cultural and ethnic heritages as well as a respect for those of others. In the morning all students work together to develop their basic skills; in the afternoon, students separate into ethnic groups where they study their own ethnic heritages, including an appropriate language. The ethnic groups which are represented are Black-American, Mexican-American, Jewish-American, Chinese-American, and White-American. With considerable cross-visitation among classes throughout the year, at appropriate times (usually ethnic holidays), each class conducts assemblies for students and parents.

The model for intercultural education presented by the Multi-Culture Institute has generated interest from the Select Committee of the U.S. Senate on Equal Educational Opportunity and the Labor Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. A number of California school districts have sent teachers to this Institute for in-service training.

Hope for Children

As stated earlier, this does not present a comprehensive survey of the free school movement. There are other varieties and there are pockets of innovation all over the country, some within the public school system and some outside. Yet one can conclude that the free school movement has indeed opened Pandora's Box. Whether one wishes to say that opening Pandora's Box has allowed all of the evils to escape, or all of the blessings to escape, the fact remains that in both versions alluded to in the quo-tation, hope remains. Especially in the ghetto where there is so much despair, institutions that hold out hope for children are necessary.

The free school movement, although struggling desperately for adequate funds, is providing parents and students with viable alternatives to the public school system; it is providing models of teaching and learning situations which could be adapted by public schools; it is providing models of cooperative learning and models of teachers in the role of learning resources for children. In other words, the free school movement is providing a model for demonstration of those principles which public schools have frequently professed and have rarely put into practice. □

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Alternative Schools: Is The Old Order Really Changing?

DONALD W. ROBINSON

IN A former candy factory in San Francisco, in a rambling ranch house in the hills near Santa Barbara, in a thousand homes and farms and church basements and storefronts, tireless volunteers are at work. These volunteers, convinced that the old order is not changing, are dedicating themselves to the establishment of a new order outside the public school system.

These critics assert that educational change is superficial and insignificant, and some conclude that because our schools are locked into repressive molds they cannot be reformed. Either the schools will be replaced by a totally novel system, or democratic society will be torn apart by the strain of a population not educated to the realities of the society they must operate.

This crisis, it seems to me, is created in the minds of the critics by their own fears and insecurities.

Society has survived far greater irrelevancies than exist today, and some schools are making far more radical adjustments than the critics apparently recognize. Perhaps a degree of crisis psychology is necessary to attract the attention of some conservative school people; and by the same token it may be desirable to warn some literal school people that much of the breast-beating is more rhetoric than factual reporting.

Most moderates would say that the old order *is* changing, conspicuously and radically. But then, nearly everything is changing today, and whether the schools are changing enough, or fast enough, to stay abreast with the new society is quite another question.

Data are plentiful to document either the position that changes in the schools are sufficient or that they are not. Our finding will largely depend upon which schools we examine and which data we select from those schools. The same facts are theoretically available to all, yet we tend to see the facts that support our emotional predilections, our

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optimism or pessimism, liberalism or conservatism, support of or opposition to the public schools as we know them.

In support of the assertion that the old order is changing, conspicuously and radically, one might cite such schools as John Bremer's Parkway School in Philadelphia, Walt Whitman High School's EFFE Program (Experiment in Free Form Education) in Bethesda, Maryland, the John Adams High School in Portland, Oregon, and dozens more. Widespread evidence of change exists in the increased use in schools throughout the country of such devices as mini-courses, independent study programs, open classrooms with parents invited to participate, and hundreds of variations of sensitivity training.

One major focus of the complaints of the alternative leaders and of the reformers within the system is lack of attention to the education of the student as a feeling person as well as a thinking person. Sometimes this is attempted in a so-called humanities program, sometimes in an interpersonal relations experience. More often this element is not considered at all. Of course one can challenge the effectiveness of these or of any efforts to improve education, but their mere existence provides an answer to the question: Is the old order really changing?

Accelerated change within the establishment is being hastened by the example of certain alternative schools. It is also accelerated by the mounting criticism of public education offered by reformers who have either given up on the public school or are on the verge of doing so. These critics place their hope in "free," "alternative" schools. The word is being passed by such anti-establishment groups as The New Schools Exchange (301 East Perdido, Santa Barbara, California 93101); Vocations for Social Change (Canyon, California 94516); the Bay Area Radical Teachers Organizing Committee (1445 Stockton Street, San Francisco, California 94133); the Teachers Drop-Out Center (School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002); the Teacher Paper (280 North Pacific Avenue, Monmouth, Oregon 97361); Edvance Combined Motivation Education Systems (6300 River Road, Rosemont, Illinois 60018).

These centers are operated by persons who see the need for a great deal more change than has so far taken place.

The alternative schools that have been established run a wide gamut of quality and success, though a majority appear to be operated by idealists without experience. These schools reportedly have an average existence of 18 months.

Alternative schools may not survive in large numbers, though that will depend in large part on how widely the voucher plan is adopted and how it is administered. Already they have had tremendous influence comparable to the manner in which minor parties have through the years influenced American social legislation. They have forced the establishment into a greater awareness of the urgency of the need for reform.

That the free alternative schools are influential is attested to by their recognition in the introduction to the 1970 edition of Porter Sargent's *Private Schools* [1]:

> . . . the formation and continued existence of new private schools as an alternative to both public education and the established private schools will undoubtedly continue and increase. These free schools and community schools are going to reflect a flexibility of methodology and attitude which will permit them to survive. Many may never be reported in the pages of this book, but this will only be because of their inaccessibility or their brevity of existence. However, in the long run, in terms of the effect they have on the present generation of students and the generation to follow, their first result will be to force both public and private education to be more competitive on their terms.

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[1] Porter Sargent. *The Handbook of Private Schools.* Introduction to 51st edition. Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1970.

The second long term effect will be on the increasing numbers of people—parents as well as children—who are changed by the very fact that these schools exist.

Change is being demanded and instituted not alone by rebels who assert that public education is a lost cause, and who have apparently established no less than a thousand independent alternative schools throughout the nation. Change is equally being demanded and instituted within the establishment. The Charles F. Kettering Foundation supports I/D/E/A/ which is essentially a change agent; the Ford Foundation sponsored the report that culminated in *Toward Humanistic Education: A Curriculum of Affect,* edited by Gerald Weinstein and Mario D. Fantini; the Carnegie Corporation supported Charles Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom;* public school systems, beginning in Philadelphia, are promoting the "school without walls" concept; the federal government is sponsoring such change-stimulating arrangements as the voucher plan.

Change for What?

There can be little argument that the old order is changing, despite Silberman's complaints, the evidence presented by John Goodlad in *Behind the Classroom Door,* and the direct evidence we may observe in our own local school. The follow-up question: Is *enough* change being effected? can spark another round of possibly useful controversy, but a reply first is needed to still another question, namely: Enough for what?

One problem, of course, is the resistance of institutions to change; not simply individual conservative administrators, but the whole concept of society, or as today's change people like to label it, the "establishment." Institutions exist to administer a relatively stable program, and to most people the notion of innovation suggests substituting a new, hopefully better, program for the present one. That is not what the present revolution is all about. The real complaint against the establishment today is that it appears unable or unwilling to attempt to administer continuing change. Not a succession of systems, but unending change, so that no set content curriculum or pattern can ever be defined.

All life, and all learning, is change; therefore schools must be geared to growth and change. And if this is not reconcilable with certain existing standards, the existing standards must go. And if some of these statements are not completely consistent or logical, who says that consistency and logic are more important than freedom, change, inquiry, and growth? So long as we maintain diversity of aims in education, we cannot hope for uniformity of curriculum, methods, or outcome. Nor should we. The major arguments against the National Assessment are based on differing priorities of what the goals of instruction should be. The opposition to various plans for school accountability rests primarily on a similar unwillingness to accept a consensus on goal priorities.

This condition of increasing assertion of individual and special group rights to determine their own priorities in educational goals is almost certain to lead to more splintering of curricula, more diversity of programs, a wider spectrum of alternative schools, and a more general acceptance of the axiom that American education is too many things to be put in the same bag. Education is what happens to a particular student in the set of circumstances he experiences in and out of his classes, which are only remotely related to what happens to another student either in the same town or half a continent away.

Actually, much of the real and the imagined inadequacy of public education today stems directly from the diversity of values, especially where home standards of authority and of the importance of study differ widely from school standards. Psychiatrists have presented persuasive data to the effect that the frustrations resulting from dependence on two conflicting value systems can be seriously damaging to the child's healthful growth.

Some schools have achieved the humanity and flexibility that by reasonable standards mark them as effective schools, challenging, stimulating, aware of human needs beyond the intellectual, concerned for their students as individuals with widely differing competencies and goals. Probably most schools are not even close to this goal. There probably exists little real need for innovations in the sense of new organizational or curricular arrangements presently undreamed of, although improvements in this area can always be made. What is needed is a massive infusion of talent into the teaching and administrative staffs, the recruitment of far greater numbers of creative, flexible, and humane individuals, constantly growing in several dimensions and capable of helping others to grow also.

Until some genius devises a touchstone to determine whether an individual student will respond better to more freedom or to firmer demands, much of the discussion of educational alternatives will remain academic. Until we achieve firmer consensus than we now seem likely ever to attain on the goals and the roles of the school, answers to the question: Is the old order really changing? will continue to be largely editorial and inconclusive. Meanwhile an optimistic nature and a historical perspective make it just as easy for some to see the bottle half full as a pessimistic nature and a perfectionist orientation make it for others to call the bottle half empty. The facts are the same for both, and both of the answers are defensible.

Charles Silberman may be justified in calling the schools joyless and repressive and urgently in need of reform, but even he is quick to admit that "from another perspective, the United States educational system appears to be superbly successful—on almost any measure, performing better than it did ten, twenty, fifty, or a hundred years ago."

A clear and persuasive expression of the nature of the cultural revolution of which today's innovations and alternatives are a part appeared back in 1956 in Lynn White's *Frontiers of Knowledge in the Study of Man.* White discusses four basic shifts: from Graeco-Judaic oriented culture to a world view; from reliance on logic and language to a much wider choice of symbols; from faith in rationality to awareness of the authority of the unconscious; and from a hierarchy of values toward a spectrum of values. Finally he places the revolution in perspective in a summary paragraph which, although it deals with the curriculum *content* rather than with innovative *methods,* still conveys the meaning of educational change.

> Finally, since revolution has swept aristocracy into the cracks and corners, does the shift from the canon of the hierarchy of values to the canon of the spectrum of values mean that the values cultivated by the aristocracies of the past are obsolete? No; on the contrary, if we neglect them we are betraying the democratic revolution which was an effort to upgrade the masses and not to downgrade them. Yet in the long perspective of human history our revolution is so new that we do not really know what a high democratic culture would look like, much less what its formal education—that is, its organized plan for cultural transmission—would be.
>
> The task of understanding ourselves and the world we live in is vastly complicated by the democratic necessity of supplementing the well formulated aristocratic values with others, more nebulous at present because never adequately verbalized, which for millennia have been held by the common people to be equally necessary and worthy of respect. In general these latter values have centered not, like those of the aristocrats, in government, religion, and art but in the home, the daily relations of people in community, and the skills of production and craftsmanship. The task is not simply to add these to the traditionally cherished values of the upper classes, but rather to smelt all human values down and to recast them

as a unit. Until this is done we shall continue in a state of cultural confusion; but the blast furnace is only now beginning to glow hot.[2]

Yes, the old order is changing, and it will continue to change as more enlightenment and humanity slowly gain the upper hand over tradition, custom, and superstition. Educational structures and patterns must continue to change until they have accommodated to the notion that every living person must continue to change throughout his entire lifetime. □

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[2] From the book *Frontiers of Knowledge in the Study of Man* by Lynn White. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, © 1956. By permission.

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Developing Flexible All-Year Schools

JOHN MCLAIN

THE long summer vacation is often decried as a "relic of the horse and buggy days." Many mothers are greatly relieved when their children finally go back to school in September after being around the house all summer needing to be supervised and wanting to be entertained. Many a superintendent has been told, "If I ran my business like you run your school I would go broke." City officials and many citizens have learned to dread the hot summer days when the youth are on the streets with little to do except to get into trouble. Perhaps the youth, themselves, dread these wasteful, uncomfortable times most of all.

In spite of all this, the leading proponents of year-round education unanimously adopted a qualifying position paper last April at the Second National Seminar on Year-Round Education. This statement recognized that, although the standard 180-day school year as it now prevails in most schools is not universally satisfactory, no operating model for year-round education has yet proved to be universally acceptable. It held that the programs which seem to be most acceptable are those providing flexibility or optional attendance, and made the following points:

1. That every individual is unique, and if each is to learn what he needs to know at his own best rate, the school curriculum must be individualized
2. That the time schedules of individuals and families are continuing to become more diverse and that a student's time in school must be adaptable to this changing situation
3. That financial resources of any community, state, and the nation are limited and must be allocated on a priority basis, and that educational programs, including the school calendar, must be designed to obtain optimum economic efficiency.

The position paper therefore recommended that local school systems consider ways, including year-round education, in which the educational program can be improved in terms of (a) providing quality education with equality in educational opportunity; (b) adapting to the community and family living patterns; and (c) attaining optimum economic efficiency. It also wisely

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recommended that such planning be done by those who would be affected by the changes in the school schedule, including teachers, parents, students, and other interested groups, and that the public be provided with adequate information about any proposed plan of change before it is adopted as mandatory.

Effects of Change

What a local community learns as it attempts to develop a year-round schedule is that any change affects different people in different ways and that people react according to how they are affected and how they value the situation. They want quality education for the children but will make some "sacrifices" for economy and convenience. They want economy but are willing to pay extra for convenience and quality education. They want the school schedule to meet their convenience but will give up some convenience for quality education and economy. Our society's reactions to these value-oriented questions give "shape" to the American public school and the school calendar. Two basic changes have been taking place over a period of time in regard to the length of the school year which are not generally considered "all-year school" plans. The length of the school year has gradually increased from only a few short weeks or months to a "standard" 120 days after World War I, to a "standard" 160 days during the Great Depression, to a "standard" 180 days after World War II, and now longer school years are common.

The idea of having "summer school" as a separate program has prevailed as an "opportunity" to make up required courses or to obtain remedial instruction, as "enrichment" or special classes for the "gifted," and as recreational activity. The summer also serves as a "safe" time to try out new ideas before they are introduced into the regular school program. Summer school is usually optional but sometimes the threat of failure is used to "encourage" attendance.

Various Plans

One of the common plans for year-round education, the *Eleven-Month Plan,* is to increase the length of the school year to eleven months, leaving a one-month vacation. This plan was recommended for consideration by the National Conference of Lieutenant Governors in 1969 primarily as a result of the influence of the Lieutenant Governor of New York. The State of New York spent five years and a considerable amount of money studying the feasibility of a plan to "speed up" the educational process by having students go to school longer each year, thus graduating earlier. The general reaction seemed to be that students do not need or want "more of the same" in a year's time; most students would not benefit by graduating earlier, and a rigid eleven-month schedule interferes with other summer plans for many people. Moreover, a change from a nine-month to an eleven-month schedule requires a substantial increase in budget the first several years before the "financial benefits" are achieved.

Probably the most frequently considered idea is the *Four-Quarter Plan.* In this plan, students are divided into four sections and the school is operated on a four-quarter basis. Each section of students is in school three of the four quarters of the year and sections are rotated in such a way that only three are in attendance each quarter, thus limiting attendance at any one time to 75 percent of the total enrollment.

The major reason this plan has been given consideration is to avoid or limit new construction and to cut operating expenses. Construction can be avoided but most school districts which have carefully analyzed costs find little if any savings in the operating budget. The inconvenience of the staggered vacation usually causes parents to favor the increased taxes for needed new buildings. This is vividly illustrated in the comprehensive study completed in July 1970 by the Utica Community Schools, Utica, Michigan.

This study indicates that a *mandated* four-quarter plan could save the school district nearly $100,000,000 in the next ten years in construction costs. The study also indicated that such a program would alienate 88 percent of their voters.

Port Huron Area School District, another of the six school districts to undertake feasibility studies on year-round education under a special grant by the Michigan State Department of Education, also studied the mandated four-quarter plan. They estimated the plan would *increase* the operating budget 3.87 mills the first year and 2.5 mills in succeeding years. At the present time it would *avoid* the need to build new schools at a savings of 5.6 mills in construction and maintenance costs, thus resulting in an annual savings of approximately 3 mills. This study indicated such a program would be feasible if community acceptance and support were obtained, smaller schools were phased out, the curriculum were revised, state laws and regulations were revised, and staff acceptance were obtained.

Several school systems of Georgia, including Atlanta, Fulton County, and DeKalb County, are operating an *optional* four-quarter plan at the *secondary level*. The stated purpose of these programs is to increase the quality of education, not to save money. In each case the curriculum has been revised to provide a wider range of optional courses, and to occupy the students' time during the summer. This program is also being developed in Jefferson County Schools of Kentucky.

A modified form of the four-quarter plan was initiated in 1967 at the Park Elementary School in the Hayward Unified School District, Hayward, California. The school calendar consists of four quarters of approximately 50 days each, with three weeks between quarters. One week of each break is devoted to parent conferences, teacher in-service education, and team planning. All students attend the same four quarters. The purpose of this program is to improve the quality of education. The operational costs are about 15 percent higher than the budget for standard operation in the district. An analysis of reactions by teachers, students, and parents is favorable.

The Becky-David Elementary School in St. Charles, Missouri, initiated a similar plan, called the *9-3 Plan*, in 1969, except that the students were divided into four sections. Each section attended classes for nine weeks then was off for three. Each section was off a different three weeks; thus the school was able to accommodate the increased enrollment, which is the reason the project was undertaken. After one year of operation it appears the schedule is acceptable to teachers, students, and parents.

This schedule was adopted in the Valley View School System, Lockport, Illinois, in 1970, and is called the *Valley View 45-15 Plan*. Valley View School District was confronted with a rapid increase in enrollment without an adequate tax base to provide the needed construction. It is estimated this plan will save the school district four to six million dollars in the next few years.

The All-Year Plan

The *Flexible All-Year School Plan* is designed to operate school the year round, continuously, like the bank, the store, and the service station, with no beginning or ending to a "school year." Both instruction and time in school are individualized. School operates in such a way that any child or teacher can take his vacation any time of year, for any length of time needed.

Wilson School at Mankato State College, Mankato, Minnesota, is operating a Flexible All-Year School with the curriculum centered around the interests of the individual learners, allowing them to pursue any study they choose.

A research-demonstration model of the Flexible All-Year School is being developed at Clarion State College, Clarion, Pennsylvania, as a learning systems component of the Research-Learning Center. This school will begin operation in the summer of 1972, when the building now under construction is completed. It will provide for approximately 300 students ranging from nursery through secondary levels, with research and exploratory programs on a life-span range. Focus will be on environmental improvement and problem solving in the community as well as personal development.

With no beginning or ending to the school year, a child may enter school whenever he is "ready." He will not have to wait another year because he was born a few days too late, as some do now. A student cannot fail at the end of the year, because there is no end of the year, nor a beginning to be sent back to. Learning must be continuously forward. If illness, conflict with authority, or vacation causes a student to be out of school at any time, he can return when it is appropriate without the pressure either to "catch up" before school is out or to fail. The school will be the center of learning, but the community will be the classroom.

There will be no long summer vacations when the students are dumped on the hot streets with nothing to do. Each student can take his vacation whenever he has something better to do; otherwise he can stay in school as long as he wants. He will not automatically remain in school 12 years, then be dumped on the labor market. He may leave school when he is able to do something more important or he may remain in school until he has something better to do; whether it is going to college, another training program, or work, the transition can be planned and orderly.

The Flexible All-Year School probably will emerge as the institution most capable of meeting the educational needs of a technologically advanced, rapidly changing society because it is designed to adapt to the needs of the individual and the changing society and because it is designed to make optimum use of time. In the long run, such a school likely will be the most economically efficient as well.

We need to quit dabbling with minor and segmented "innovative ideas" and trying to patch up an obsolete system. It is time we clearly analyze the educational needs of our society and design the kinds of schools we need. ☐

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Universities Without Campuses

HENRY A. BERN

WHY should we want a university without a campus, that is, without specific residence requirements? Well, for one reason, if a university had no campus, it would have none of the current problems of campus violence. Yet there are even more important reasons—millions of them.

As the technological complexity of a society increases, the level of education required to escape the social and economic

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consequences of being considered "uneducated" rises. In the United States, since the beginning of this century, first an eighth grade diploma, then a high school diploma, and finally a college degree have measured the education required for employment or career advancement and hence for status and self-respect.

Consequently, there are millions of persons who recognize themselves as seriously handicapped, educationally disenfranchised, invisibly branded as "uneducated" for lack of a visible college degree but who cannot leave their jobs to study on the campus. There are no statistics which directly identify this population, but some idea of the number can be obtained from government reports [1] of levels of education in the population as a whole.

Some 33 percent of persons 20 years old and over in the United States have achieved a high school education—and no more. Not all of these, to be sure, may be capable of, or interested in, obtaining a college degree; but there are approximately 10 million within the 20- to 45-year-old bracket in which such ambitions are common.[2] Among them are the millions of "reasons" for universities without campuses.

These persons have had enough education to know that they are capable of making further progress. They believe the professors, economic analysts, and governmental officials who say that education is the path to personal and national economic and intellectual salvation; they *want* to continue their academic education; they are intellectually *capable* of continuing their academic education, but they find their path blocked by obstacles of 10 or more hours a day spent in traveling to work and earning a living.

Minimum Campuses

For these educationally deprived persons, a modicum of assistance is offered primarily through the "minimum campus" requirements of evening college programs of two-year and four-year colleges. Such programs are generally available, however, only in urban areas. Despite the phenomenal rate of growth of two-year colleges, these still serve only a fraction of the population. Altogether, about a million students attend evening colleges.[3] G. B. Stern noted that "full-time day students are so numerous that they are crowded into evening, preempting space of the evening college. Thus we have the so-called day college conducting its programs in the evening." [4]

A portion of this population numbering in the scant hundreds is served by programs designed by a handful of universities for a small number of relatively elite classes of adults seeking a bachelor of liberal arts degree. For example, in the period 1954-62, a total of only 300 students entered the Brooklyn College degree program, one of the oldest of these offerings. The overall effect of all of the existing channels in higher education, however, is hardly noticeable. A way to enfranchise the remaining millions and to give them a "second chance" at further education must be found. Establishing colleges without campuses *may* be the way.

Second-Chance Universities

The Soviet Union

Universities which offer adults a "second chance" have already been explored and established in some of the major countries of the world, for example, France, East and West Germany, Poland, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom.[5] The Soviet Union was probably the first to exploit the use of correspondence courses on a national basis to provide a willing population access to higher education. It is not surprising, therefore, that *"over half* (the enrollments) *in its higher educational institutions* are in correspondence or evening programs, the majority in correspondence courses. . . ." [6]

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[1] *Population Characteristics: Educational Attainment.* Series P20 N 0169, March 1967. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, February 6, 1968.

[2] W. C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera. *Volunteers for Learning* (a National Opinion Research Center study). Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965. p. 72.

[3] Howell McGee, editor. *Annual Report of Programs and Registrations, 1967-68.* Norman, Oklahoma: Association of University Evening Colleges and National University Extension Association. University of Oklahoma, 1968.

[4] G. B. Stern "Up from Basket Weaving: The Concealed Crisis in Adult Education." *Graduate Comment,* Fall 1967. pp. 152-57. Published by Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

The programs are conducted by special correspondence institutes accredited as higher education institutions and by correspondence divisions of the regular higher educational institutions. Diplomas received from the correspondence study programs are considered equivalent to those from regular day full-time programs. Since the introduction of direct teaching by television into the U.S.S.R. in 1964, increasing support has been given correspondence and evening students, particularly in Moscow and Leningrad, which have a third channel devoted chiefly to this purpose.

The United Kingdom

The most recent and most comprehensive design for a university without a campus, "open" specifically for adults who for some reason missed "earlier" chances, and are willing to work to get certificates, diplomas, lower degrees, and even higher degrees, is the Open University of the United Kingdom.[7]

The university has its own charter, its own governing bodies, staff, and budget. It will, however, have practically no campus. Study will be achieved:

> 1. By reading and writing as directed by independent study guides, primarily; but also
>
> 2. By viewing and listening to regular broadcasts; and
>
> 3. By opportunities of face-to-face instruction, group discussion in local centers, and at a two-week residential summer school.

To prepare students for the systematic habits required for independent study, the university is contracting with an independent home study college (the National Extension College) and with more than a hundred local colleges and centers to develop and assist in the teaching of these special courses in math, social studies, and in literature and history. In general, the program of the Open University will be a partnership between the university and the BBC.

The United States

In a highly restricted sense, the United States also has universities without campuses. It can even be said that we have a *national system* of such universities. The "system" is composed of almost 70 major universities extending across the country, from New York to California and into Alaska. I refer to the universities which are represented in the Independent Study Division of the National University Extension Association.[8] These universities have campuses, but they also have Independent Study Bureaus or other units in which students may enroll for a limited number of courses for credit (15 to 30 hours, usually) without ever coming to campus.

A quarter of a million students are now attending college in this manner. Most of these are momentary dropouts and plan to return to some campus, or are not taking the courses for degree credit. Enrollments by others would be an exercise in futility since no university will permit them to earn a degree in this manner.

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[5] Burton Paulus. "Europe's Second Chance Universities." *Educational Broadcasting Review* 3: 3; June 1969.

[6] Seymour M. Rosen. *Part Time Education in the U.S.S.R.* O. E. 14113, Bulletin 1965, No. 17. Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

[7] John Robinson. "The BBC and the Open University: Some Questions Answered." BBC Broadcasting House, London, April 1970.

[8] *Guide to Independent Study in Colleges and Universities.* Washington, D.C.: National University Extension Association, Dupont Circle, 1969.

What is needed, then, are "only" improvements of the present national system of non-campus universities—improvements which will provide:

1. Broader ("universal") access to such programs

2. An improved (more interesting, more personal, more socially supported) form of instruction

3. A full range of programs leading to the continuing social and economic badges of achievement: certificates, diplomas, and degrees.

A Powerful Catalyst

The basic elements of the improved model of the non-campus university system already exist: university Independent Study Bureaus; statewide educational television systems; and accreditation organizations and devices, such as the College Level Examination Program, College Proficiency Examination Programs, and other forms of credit-by-examination. What is missing is a powerful catalyst to bring about the union of these elements. And lo, we may have the catalyst too—the Corporation for Public Broadcasting!

In 1967 the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 became law, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting became fact. The Act was largely triggered by the report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television and was a Congressional confirmation of the thesis that public broadcasting is a *national* concern. As J. Bystrum pointed out, "The Rubicon was crossed when the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television recognized the federal government as the major source for *funding* for a noncommercial broadcasting system."[9] As a consequence, the federal relationship to noncommercial broadcasting is financially bound, whereas it had previously been primarily regulatory, resting on its control of radio and television broadcast frequencies.

Since its establishment, the Corporation has developed and supported a number of programs, but it has not yet met the challenge "with respect to instruction." In speaking on the topic "Toward a Philosophy for Public Television Programming," John W. Macy, Jr., President of the Corporation, preferred specifically to set aside this challenge: "I am sure some in the public broadcasting family say, 'What about the basic philosophy with respect to instruction?' I believe that for the purpose of many discussions on public television programming it is well to set it aside."

However, he is not unaware of the significance of what has been set aside, and in what he says further, there is hope for the eventual role he could play in the development of an "Open University" for the United States:

> Let me reassure you that I in no sense downgrade the importance of that phase (instruction) of public broadcasting responsibility. . . . This is an area that should not remain static. It is one that calls for continuing attention, not only in terms of what television projects into the classroom, but the relationship of that projection to other technological devices, which, hopefully, can enrich the learning process.
>
> I believe that all of us now recognize that the learning process occurs in the home, after school hours. *Our basic concept should include the delivery of education on a continuing basis through school and beyond school, through adulthood into retirement. This is clearly one of the purposes of public broadcasting.*[10]

As a matter of fact, the Corporation already has on its desk a commissioned report of both the contemporary scene and future directions for Continuing Public Education Broadcasting.[11] There was no recommendation in the report for a specific program, but the report did include a number of criteria for establishing national program priorities. The three major criteria were:

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[9] John W. Bystrum. "Public Broadcasting Systems: Plans and Realizations." *Educational Broadcasting Review* 2 (5): 23; October 1968.

[10] John W. Macy, Jr. "Toward a Philosophy for Public Television Programming." *Educational Broadcasting Review* 3 (9): 8; October 1969. (Emphasis added.)

> 1. *Contribution to Equality of Educational Opportunity:* All other factors being equal, that area of Continuing Education which may contribute more to equalizing opportunities for education for millions denied or deprived of them has priority over those areas which contribute less.
>
> 2. *Contribution to Social Stability:* All other factors being equal, that area of Continuing Education which is more likely to "defuse" the explosive elements of our population has priority over those which are less likely to do so.
>
> 3. *Investment Return:* All other factors being equal, that area of Continuing Education which is more likely to yield the highest "return" per unit dollar of support has priority over those less likely to do so.[12]

Such criteria, I would think, clearly place a program for educationally disenfranchised millions in the top priority bracket. As Macy pointed out, what made *public* broadcasters different from commercial broadcasters is that they were "the only broadcasters who spent full time in pursuit of the *public interest*." [13] With the public interest in the forefront of its attention, and the above criteria in its hands, it may not be too long (we hope) before the Corporation will indeed activate the elements of an improved national system of universities without campuses. ☐

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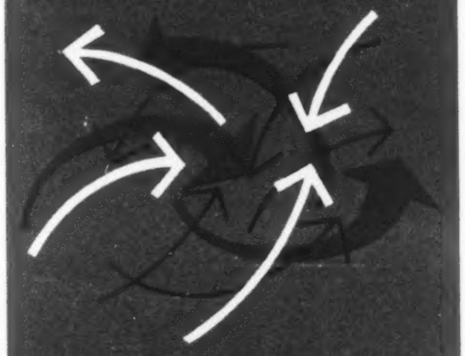
[11] Edwin G. Cohen. "Continuing Public Education Broadcasting, Today and Tomorrow." *Educational Broadcasting Review* 4 (1): 3; February 1970.

[12] *Continuing Public Education Broadcasting, A Report to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.* Bloomington, Indiana: National Instructional Television Center, September 1969. Appendix I, pp. 7-9.

[13] John W. Macy, Jr. "Unique Opportunity for Public Broadcasting." *Educational Broadcasting Review* 3: 37; Special Issue, 1969.



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IN A WORLD SETTING

Our national regeneration would seem likely, then, to be forwarded by seeing our own problems in some kind of global perspective, in school as well as out of school. Our search for new ways to deal with these problems is shared by many others around the world. Our search for new identity is shared by many; in one way or another, we are all citizens of developing nations. Frazier, p. 260.

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There Is Much We Can Learn

VINCENT R. ROGERS

IF THERE is one insight I have gained from my considerable experience abroad, it is, I suppose, the simple but terribly profound notion that *there is much we can learn from one another.* I say this with complete awareness of the political, cultural, economic, and other differences that exist among us; I say it with full knowledge of the ways in which one's own values and beliefs color one's perceptions of the life-ways of others; and I say it with some understanding of the technological gap that exists between the nations of the northern and southern hemispheres.

Despite these differences, and despite these problems, educators from all over the world are increasingly engaged in exchanges of views—*dialogues,* if you will—concerning the education of the world's children. I should emphasize at once that these contacts are indeed *exchanges* of views, rather than the one-sided imposition of one nation's educational ideas and practices upon another.

Educators from dozens of nations are sampling each other's wares, searching out those practices that appear to have relevance and meaning for their own schools, modifying and adapting such practices as they see fit, rejecting out of hand those that (no matter how well advertised) are clearly inappropriate, and, in the process, sharing *their* ideas with others.

As one views the process of education from a worldwide, international perspective, one is struck immediately with the number of problems calling for cross-cultural, supranational attack; problems of common interest to scholars, school people, and educationists in a host of nations, Western and non-Western, developed and developing. For example:

1. There is an almost universal need for more effective educational approaches to the problem of building closer relationships between a school's academic offerings and the eventual civic behavior of its students.

2. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence indicating that much of what is taught to children in a given country about life in *other* nations and cultures is biased and inaccurate.

3. There is general concern about developing better ways to help children and youth learn to cope more effectively with the rapidly changing physical *and* social world in which we find ourselves.

4. Many nations are particularly concerned about the nature of education programs for "disadvantaged" children, for example, how these children may differ from other children in terms of attitude formation, values held, learning style, etc.; what their specific educational needs may be; and how to teach them more effectively.

5. There is general interest in questions concerning the political socialization of children, for example, *what* political attitudes, knowledges, and understandings are possessed by children of varying ages; *how* they are developed; and *how* the school

Vincent R. Rogers, Chairman, Department of Elementary Education, University of Connecticut, Storrs

might play a more effective role in their development.

6. There is an almost universal need for more effective means of *evaluating* both the cognitive and affective aspects of education in all areas.

7. There seems to be an international need for more challenging, creatively designed teaching materials of all kinds—visual, printed, manipulative, etc.

8. There is considerable interest in a number of countries in ways of improving the education of those who will ultimately teach children and youth.

9. Finally, there is the problem—on an international as well as on a national scale—of closing the gap between research findings and school practices. This is related, of course, to the problem of more effective means of internationally disseminating information.

In other words, there appears to be a great deal of overlapping interest, activity, and effort among persons working in education throughout the world. It seems to me that one of the most pressing needs of our time, then, is that we continue to move beyond our own national borders as we consider problems in education, and to recognize that, in C. E. Black's words,

> We live in a world where societies are increasingly dependent for their security on factors that extend far beyond their boundaries; where systems of production require raw materials, markets, and skills that no one country can provide; where social relationships and cultural institutions overlap national confines; and where the orientation of the individual is developing toward acquiring values that know no national frontiers.[1] □

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[1] C. E. Black. *The Dynamics of Modernization.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966. p. 29.

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The Worldwide Struggle for Education

GEORGE A. MALE

TODAY the basic educational problem is one of helping in man's struggle to remain human. The backdrop is the worldwide struggle against poverty, authoritarianism, colonialism, tribalism, and many other forces which tend to divide men, or to place certain groups of men in positions of subservience and inferiority.

This worldwide saga is equal in importance and excitement to our own Westward Movement, the Age of Jackson, and the drama of the frontier. Too often when bits of this saga are acted out in distant countries we regard them as merely items in the daily newspaper. For many years this was the case as we read with detachment, and some amusement, of the student protest activities in Latin America in the 1940's and 1950's.

Even in our own country we often overlook critical struggles because of their subtle or their sophisticated form. Thus, it took Michael Harrington to point out to us the hidden poor—the "Other Americans."

George A. Male, Professor of Comparative Education and Director, Comparative Education Center, University of Maryland, College Park

This struggle brings to mind Robert Heilbronner's concept of the "great ascent"—out of the pit of poverty, ignorance, and despair. In the 19th century, in the United States, the ascent began with education as the ladder leading up and out of the pit into the bright sun of opportunity, ethnic respectability, and humaneness. The ladder has worked imperfectly, of course, and for certain groups there have been people above stepping on their fingers as they grasped the next rung. Today this interference is inflicted more subtly as educational opportunity and social class standing are linked together. This interference enables some to enjoy high status and respectability while others are left with low status, an inferior education, and little chance to advance. In other parts of the world the same phenomenon occurs through use of the exclusive academic secondary schools and their counterparts on the higher education level.

In the case of the black American, he has seldom been allowed to use the main educational ladder out of the pit. Instead, in the past he was provided with a much shorter ladder. In addition, it was so rickety that it occasionally collapsed. At best it was often a ladder full of slivers and sharp edges calculated to make the climb difficult. A similar situation prevailed for indigenous peoples in many regions of the world under British, French, Dutch, and Portuguese rule. As independence came for many of these groups in the 1950's and 1960's a serious attempt was made, and is being made, to fashion new ladders of educational opportunity.

Such ladders are not easily constructed when physical resources are limited and when tribal, ethnic, and class rivalries pit one group against another. One of the most persistent of human patterns is the way men tend to divide into invidious groupings, often aided and abetted by the educational system. Education has been used to heighten the feelings of being inadequate and unworthy in some individuals and to make others feel proud and haughty and disdainful of the masses. Nevertheless, country after country at present is engaging in a nationwide campaign to extend education to all its citizens.

Having made it out of the pit, unlike people in many parts of the world where lack of education, poverty, and oppression go hand in hand, Americans are now in danger of being pushed back into the pit by a monster of our own creation—that is, a society stressing technology, extreme specialization, rootless existence in suburbia, and computer values over human values. It is no wonder that we now read of a widespread identity problem, not only of black Americans, for whom the problem is doubly acute, but for all of us.

Problem of Identity

The problem of identity is no less acute in Africa and other regions of the world where local identity, long dormant under colonial rule, now seeks to establish itself. The campaign to establish identity is comparable in scope to the struggle now going on in the United States in which schools and other institutions are now embarked, whether they like it or not, on a vast program to revamp the Negro's, and the white man's, outlook on life. Basically this is an educational job, though one involving far more than schools. No society in the world can remold itself without coordination among all its social agencies.

One of the agencies is the national government, and increasingly we seem to be relying on big government. In so doing we face a new dilemma of preserving local initiative and respect for individual differences in the presence of a government increasingly vast, faceless, and bureaucratic. Our only defense seems to be a renewed insistence on citizen participation.

Viewed in this light, the black citizen's demand for control over his neighborhood school is a healthful response which may help black and white alike in the long run. As ordinary citizens now demand a say about the hiring of teachers and the nature of the curriculum, teachers find themselves pitted against administrators and against citizen groups who in effect challenge the claim that teachers are professionals and should control their work. Students also rise now in anger against bureaucracy, bigness, impersonal values, disinterested teachers, and everyone and everybody who is in the other generation from which youth is alienated.

Who controls, then, becomes a basic issue and underlies much of the educational change occurring in many regions of the world. This is, of course, part of a larger struggle between the haves and the have-nots of the world.

In the United States the poorly educated are separated by a widening gulf from those who are well educated. The same is true in other lands, but it is less a problem in some regions of the world where elitism is an old and well accepted ideology. Here it becomes a problem because of our society's open commitment to equality and because of our nation's faith that education, if only we will give it a chance, is the answer to all our problems. Unless we make faster progress in coping with the vast problems generated by a rapidly changing society, we face a vast disillusionment not only with schools but also with the intellectual approach to life. In our own time we have witnessed the awful specter of a nation, Nazi Germany, adopting a blind emotional approach to life. Should such irrationality gain a foothold in the United States, it would be the crowning irony because of our noble attempt to educate mankind, all of mankind, on a scale which no other nation thought possible, or desirable.

As other countries dedicate themselves to the inspiring task of educating all mankind, and in a manner which preserves and enhances man's humanity, it becomes equally important that progress keep pace with rising expectations. Reports coming in from various regions of the world indicate that the challenge has been accepted. We all have an obligation not only to keep informed of these developments around the world but to lend our support, each in his own way. ☐

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The Larger Question: A New Sense of Common Identity

(An Editorial)

ALEXANDER FRAZIER

ON JULY 20, 1969, we put a period to the first phase of a new era in this country. The moon landing was our answer to the question of whether we could mobilize our resources for the kind of achievement that seemed, after Sputnik, to be needed to restore our feeling of competence and indeed our sense of safety.

Yet that footstep, fateful as it was, came late in the new era of national regeneration. Already other concerns loomed larger in our consciousness than those re-

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solved by Apollo 11. On July 20, as we looked at our success in space, almost all of us compared it to our failure at home. "If we can land a man on the moon," we said to ourselves and to one another, "then surely. . . ."

And we have begun to think together, more earnestly than ever, about the size of the effort it will take to regain peace . . . eradicate or reduce poverty . . . build new bases of understanding among our component racial and ethnic strains . . . offer more meaningful goals and roles for youth . . . control a careening economy . . . stop the deadly pollution of our environment . . . replan and rebuild our great but decaying cities. . . .

One thing we can be sure of is that if we are to succeed in doing something about these problems, we must try for a new definition of community and a consequent new sense of common identity. We can be sure, too, that as our society tries for a new model of the American, we in the schools will be in the midst of the effort.

We Are in It Now—
If Not Too Far

In truth, we are in it now, for our society has already, if perhaps slowly and meagerly, declared itself to some extent in behalf of a higher level of public conscience. A good many new provisions for meeting unmet needs have been made by government in this decade. And for some time the schools have been trying to do more for the disadvantaged than in the past.

Our attempts may not as yet have come to much. We may have reason to feel better at this point about our impulses than about our results. With a little help from our critics, we may find in looking back that even our impulses were open to some question. Our short courses in sociology may have defined ends for us that, while well meaning in spirit, turned out in practice to look very much like middle class meddling.[1] We saw ourselves as needing to assess and alter as we could parent-child relationships, outlooks on learning and attitudes toward school, patterns of gratification, concepts of time, images of self, and even patterns of language.

We may have been learning, we may decide, more about changing *them* than about changing *us*; or settling too easily for learning how to understand the children of the poor and empathize with them (attitude is everything, we have been telling some of our teachers-to-be) instead of persisting in the very tough task of finding out how to teach children more successfully. "We'll be the parents to our children," some of these parents are beginning to say to us. "Why don't you be the teachers?" And they are expecting results that so far we have not been able to provide through our modest missionary ventures.

We are also already trying out a variety of curriculum modifications that we think may assist in bolstering up the search for personal identity among ethnic groups. We need to explore the dimensions of such modifications, to watch for and weigh results.

Socialization—Toward What Ends?

But to return to the theme of this paper: A major concern, on which all of our other school efforts may well depend, as may the direction of our society as a whole, is the redefinition of what it means to be an American. Schools, we have always contended, serve as the bonding device in a democracy like ours. Certainly they are the primary formal institution for political socialization of the young. The proper fulfilling of this role of theirs is thus central at all times to the well-being of society and at a time of disunity becomes critical.

Political socialization in normal times

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[1] Ben B. Seligman notes this approach as an example of middle class *noblesse oblige,* in: *Permanent Poverty: An American Syndrome.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968.

may have seemed to require little more of the schools, as the Hess study[2] indicates (data from 1961-62), than to support the home and society in general by helping children generalize and transfer respect for properly constituted authority from the parent and the teacher to the policeman and the President. The young grow into learning how to behave as a citizen chiefly through practice in service and self-government activities, safety patrols and student councils, for example; and they store up information along the way about how government is organized at its several levels. The ends of such socialization are more or less obvious to everybody, more or less taken for granted.

However, in times of national crisis and division, the question of ends (as well perhaps as processes) may be reopened. The problem right now that is most disturbing to many of us in education is really a question we may not have asked ourselves out loud since the thirties: "Socialization—for what?"

Efforts to find an answer to this question cannot be delayed. We may not know where our society is headed, but some think they do. In a sample survey of secondary school principals last year, two-thirds of those from urban areas reported experience with some kind of student disturbance, as did more than half the principals of rural schools.

Our problem, then, is one of trying to rethink the ends of political socialization in ways that may contribute to the creation of a new model of the American, beyond myth, we would hope, and above mockery, we would insist.

Some of the Ways We Might Go

What are some of the ways we might go? Based on one reading of the signs and an obviously limited awareness of the full range of possibilities, those offered here are only conjectural. But we need all of us to think as well as we can on this matter and to share what we think.

- *Should we rewrite American history?* A fairer representation of the contributions of minority groups needs to be included in any school study of our past, we are all agreed. Perhaps some episodes in our history, like the resettlement of Indians on reservations, the reconstruction era, and possibly even the Mexican War, may need retelling. More attention also may need to go to the role and achievements of dissenters, reform movements, and third parties.

- *Should we revive the problem-centered curriculum?* A core program today could draw on a broader base of accessible study resources from fields like economics, anthropology, sociology, human ecology, and political science. Our problems, too, would strike young learners as more relevant now than perhaps they did in a quieter and less self-conscious era.

- *Should we center more attention on value development?* Sometimes in the past we may have been a little afraid that by dwelling too long on concepts like freedom, justice, equality, community, and peace, we might maudlinize their meaning. But we are newly aware of the centrality of such concepts in political behavior, their cruciality in determining choices. Perhaps we are readier to face up to the straight-out teaching of or for values.

- *Should we settle for basic social insights?* More than ever we are aware that there is a body of knowledge about how men behave as political creatures, a content that might be usefully taught to develop insights into power and its exercise and into such aspects of social behavior as conflict and confrontation.[3]

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[2] Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney. *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.

[3] Lewis A. Coser is the author of the major analyses of these phenomena: *The Functions of Social Conflict.* New York: The Free Press, 1956; and *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict.* New York: The Free Press, 1967.

- *Should we educate more directly for human sensitivity?* In adult society, we are learning how to reeducate ourselves to become more expressive and authentic in our relations to one another. There would seem to be hints here for the education of the young in better interpersonal and intergroup relations as well as for the fuller development of self.

- *Should we provide experiences in political action?* Apprenticeship to the many projects of community improvement or involvement in the development of cooperative projects by school and community could give students something that classroom study cannot.

- *Should we try for planetary perspective?* At the State Dinner in Los Angeles, astronaut Neil Armstrong remarked of the people with whom the Apollo crew had been in touch all that long day:

> We hope and think that those people shared our belief that this is the beginning of a new era—the beginning of an era when man understands the universe around him, and the beginning of the era when man understands himself.

Somehow withdrawing from the earth has seemed to provide our astronauts with a perspective that makes them, as Michael Collins said, feel "proud to be an inhabitant of this most magnificent planet."

From his planetary perspective, the second man to set foot on the moon, Edwin Aldrin, reiterated for us the feeling of national resolution we had shared as a people when he related our space success on July 20 to our domestic confusion: "We can do what we will and must and want to do."

Our national regeneration would seem likely, then, to be forwarded by seeing our own problems in some kind of global perspective, in school as well as out of school. Our search for new ways to deal with these problems is shared by many others around the world. Our search for new identity is shared by many; in one way or another, we are all citizens of developing nations.

"What we want to do is to go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of Man, in the company of all men."[4] These words, addressed to his fellow Africans by the Algerian revolutionary philosopher, Frantz Fanon, may speak to us also as to men everywhere. "Our country is the world, our countrymen all mankind."[5] □

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[4] Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth.* Translated by Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1966. p. 255.

[5] Motto carried on the masthead of William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, founded in 1831.

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Maintaining a Supportive Physical Environment for Man*

PAULINE GRATZ

ECOLOGISTS today seek to communicate a message that can hardly be more critical or significant for education. It is that we are destroying the natural environment that is necessary for any kind of human life in our continuous search for what we call "a better way of life."

There is no doubt that man has made giant strides since his first appearance on earth. Many of these steps are laudable and have contributed to the "better life," but in other aspects we have made some monstrous mistakes in the direction of destroying the land upon which our food supply depends, spoiling the air we must breathe and the water we must drink, and in other ways upsetting the biological, geological, and chemical cycles upon which our very being depends.

Most ecologists will agree that they see no significant indication that we have much determination toward improving our practices. It is these practices which have implications for educating young people toward a realization of the crucial need for maintaining an environment supportive of life.

Environmental Pollution

Environmental pollution is only one of several outcomes of our practices that should be seriously considered. The level of oxygen in the atmosphere today is slightly over 20 percent, a level similar to the atmosphere 400 million years ago. This is probably due to the efficiency of the combined efforts of green plants and organisms including animals which use oxygen. Green plants provide oxygen to the atmosphere at approximately the same rate as organisms use the oxygen available in the atmosphere.

This fortunate state of circumstances is primarily due to the presence of marine microorganisms suspended near the surface of the ocean's water, producing 70 percent or more of the earth's oxygen. Consequently, even though there is an interruption of the oxygen-carbon dioxide cycle known as photosynthesis during darkness and partially during winter seasons, man has been fortunate in that the circulation patterns in the atmosphere move the air about the earth in such a way that he has not had to be concerned that he would run out of oxygen to breathe.

Just as the oxygen is primarily produced by marine microorganisms in the sea, the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is created in large measure by the process of combustion. The carbon dioxide in the atmosphere before our appearance on earth was probably due to the spontaneous combustion that occurred in the forests covering the earth. Later we burned forests for warmth, food production, and protection.

As time progressed, we went on to find other uses for combustion and to find new

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* Based on a paper at the annual conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, March 17, 1969, in Chicago.

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combustible materials such as coal, oil, and natural gas which provided heat and power. It was the exploitation of these fossil fuels which made it feasible for more people to exist on earth than had ever been possible before. Use of these fuels brought with it, however, our serious problem of environmental pollution.

The oceans take carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, producing limestone. Ecologists warn, however, that carbon dioxide is now being added to the atmosphere far too rapidly for the oceans to absorb completely. A ton of petroleum hydrocarbon when burned produces about 1⅓ tons of water and about twice this amount of carbon dioxide. With the increased use of fossil fuels by industrial facilities, automobiles, jet airplanes, and so forth, the amount of carbon dioxide spewed into the atmosphere is increasing tremendously. Concomitantly, vast tracts of land are being removed from the cycle of photosynthesis. In the United States alone, a million acres of green plants are paved under each year. The loss of these plants is reducing the rate at which oxygen enters the atmosphere. In addition, we do not even know to what extent photosynthesis is being inhibited through pollution of ocean and fresh waters.

This is why many scientists believe that the carbon-oxygen balance may be in danger. Should a point be reached at which the rate of combustion exceeds the rate of photosynthesis, the atmosphere will begin to run out of oxygen. If this occurs gradually, the effect would be approximately the same as moving to high altitudes, such as in the Andes mountains. Some ecologists believe this oxygen shortage might help to alleviate the population crisis by raising death rates. Others believe that atmospheric depletion of oxygen might occur suddenly, not gradually.

So many of the problems besetting man in supporting his environment can be summed up thus far by the simple phrase, "We don't know." Does this mean, however, that we should do nothing? The magnitude of this crisis is visible but goes unrecognized by large majorities of people. Its gravity is felt but barely understood. People refuse to recognize or understand what is in plain sight, pretending it is not there, hoping it will go away and leave us alone. And precisely because individuals refuse to comprehend what they behold, the stress is starting to impinge upon our daily lives ever more frequently, ever more insistently. In the absence of treatment, the dimensions of the malignancy swell and multiply.

The Great Paradox

The paradox of the times lies in the fact that we are fully capable of rooting out the underlying causes of pollution. The human, technological, and financial resources are at hand. We do possess the knowledge and skill to use these resources. Yet we waver, hesitate, equivocate. We lack the will to act.

It is quite possible to cut down on some of the carbon dioxide pollution by installing a control system in automobiles. Yet many individuals doubt whether this is truly a practical solution to the pollution problem without inordinate costs to the automobile user. If this opinion is to be followed to its logical conclusion, then, as one scientist has suggested, there is no solution to the problem except to allow pollution to rise to such a level that one-half of the car operators succumb to the effects of their free use of the highways. Then, with the number of automobiles reduced to pre-smog level, air pollution will once again become insignificant until, of course, the car operators reproduce and the population increases again. Quite frankly, this is madness.

Nitrogen Cycle

Another important aspect of the environment is the nitrogen cycle. Nitrogen is necessary for the building of protein. It is released into the atmosphere, along with ammonia, as a gas when plants and animals decay. Live plants use both substances to build their proteins, but they cannot use the nitrogen in gaseous form. Certain bacteria and algae in the soil and roots of some plants use the nitrogen and ammonia gas to produce nitrates, which the plants use in turn to build their proteins. Animals then build their proteins from the constituents of plant proteins.

As was indicated in the discussion of oxygen, the rate of use and return of nitrogen has reached a balance so that the percentage of nitrogen in the atmosphere remains constant. It is not difficult to envision what might occur if any one of the numerous steps in the nitrogen cycle were to be disturbed. The atmospheric nitrogen might disappear. It might be replaced by ammonia which, if unused in the atmosphere, would become poisonous. Or plants could no longer make proteins because bacteria would no longer be available to use the gas in the atmosphere. In any case, disturbance of the nitrogen balance might mean disaster for the earth.

Has all our interference with natural processes begun to have a serious effect on the nitrogen cycle? Again, we do not know. The point is, however, that we should know before we continue to do more interfering. The Federal Food and Drug Administration has indicated that we are dumping vast quantities of pollutants into the oceans. These include pesticides, radioisotopes, detergents, and other biologically active materials. No more than a fraction of these substances have been tested for toxicity to the marine microorganisms that produce most of the earth's oxygen, or to the bacterial life involved in the nitrogen cycle.

We have developed ingenious products and devices to bring about short-range benefits. We are constantly devising grandiose schemes to achieve immediate ends. Our influence on our earth is now so dominant that we must begin to consider what our products and schemes will do to the biogeochemical cycles instead of trusting to luck that none of our machinations will upset the balance of life.

Role of Education

What shall we do as educators? Shall we produce more advertising executives who assert that billboards are "the art gallery of the public"? Or more industry spokesmen who say that "the ability of a river to absorb sewage is one of our great natural resources and should be utilized to the utmost"? Or more oilmen who show surprise and wonder at the outcry over the death of a "few hundred birds"?

There is much that educators can do individually and collectively. Probably the most important step is to educate with regard to the urgency of the problem. We must take every opportunity offered to speak about what man is doing to his environment. Every course should include at least one session on the subject. It is the educators who must take leadership. Now is the time to stop talking to ourselves and start talking to our students and to the rest of the population. Only an informed public will demand action. □

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The Arts in a Global Village

MAXINE GREENE

IN THE recent past, when we heard the phrase "international cooperation" or even "world education," we were likely soon to hear the word "man" or "mankind." Those who talked of international understanding, it seemed were prone to rely, in the last analysis, on fine-sounding abstractions, like "respect for humanity" and "love of man."

This is not so likely today, but nonetheless I need to begin by asserting that the term "man"—or, if you prefer, "mankind"—means little to me, because it says nothing about men in their diversity and complexity. Nor does it say anything about their precarious condition in the universe, nor about the innumerable ways they have found for coping with it, nor the heights they sometimes attain, nor the depths to which they just as often fall.

In the so-called "global village" there are many mansions; but there are many hovels, too, many rat-infested tenements, many exposed outposts, many barren, dusty fields; and there are multitudes moving through the global village, crowds of strangers, with faces generally blurred—except, now and then, when one becomes visible to us with shocking clarity and immediacy, and we suddenly recognize a person there, an individual, perhaps a fellow-creature—and we know, somehow, it is with him as it is with each of us.

To talk of world friendship or international understanding is, for me, to talk of making such recognitions possible, increasingly possible. This is somewhat different, as you surely know, from meeting someone from another culture, someone labeled "foreign student" or "delegate from Nigeria," who seems like us in certain ways, for all the apparent differences we perceive in language, costume, and attitude toward life. Too often, when we meet an individual like this at a conference, in a class, or even in someone's living room, we identify with our roles and frequently with our cultures. We are not persons at all, full of the usual doubts, distractions, and idiosyncracies; it is as if we leave our imperfect selves, our private selves, at home, replacing them with gracious, smiling, open-minded *persona.* We become people who never looked for a job, never changed a diaper, never became angry at a job poorly done, never worried about failing an exam, never became preoccupied with meanings or purposes, never asked "What's it all for?" We are *other* to those we meet and to ourselves at once. Correct and controlled, we seldom—as living persons—meet each other's eyes. We are, in Ralph Ellison's sense, invisible to each other.

A Sense of Ourselves

"I am invisible understand," Ellison wrote at the start of *Invisible Man,* "because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me, they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of

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their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me." [1]

It is not our intention not to see. It is, again quoting Ellison, because of a "peculiar disposition" of our eyes. Our vision is often too poor to permit us to see through the Frenchness of a French person, the Koreanness of a Korean person. We may appreciate the Frenchness and the Koreanness. We may be eager to learn all there is to learn about what accounts for such qualities—what values, what cultural mores, what kind of education, what early childhood experiences. We may say that beneath all these we recognize a fellow-creature—*in abstracto;* that we know the Frenchman or Korean opposite is another version of "man"; but this can, as we all realize, be still another way of imposing invisibility.

A concern with invisibility—and with the difficulty of encountering another as a person—is what leads me to turn to literature and the arts as means of making understanding possible, not so much an understanding of the idea of man or the idea of mankind, as some prefer, but for a sense of ourselves and of our condition in the world—a condition which, at some level, all the world's people share. I am aware of the importance of learning rationally and empirically how other people live, certainly aware of the importance of immersion in other cultures for the sake of empathy with other human beings' designs for living and for the sake of discovering the almost infinite diversity of behaviors known to be human. Like the readers of this article, I want to overcome narrowness and provincialism; most of all, I want to overcome the kind of pride which prevents people from ascribing dignity to alien modes of life. Yet it seems to me that none of this can be overcome until we overcome remoteness and the tendency to treat other people habitually as subjects of study—which is often equivalent, oddly enough, to treating them as objects, as things. There is no point in educating against provincialism if we feel ourselves to be, like Shakespeare's Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, "indifferent children of the earth."

In the recent play, Tom Stoppard's *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead,* when the two young men discover that the letter they are carrying to the English king is a letter instructing the king to cut off Hamlet's head, they are shocked at first, because, after all, they are supposed to be his friends. Then Guildenstern takes care of it for both of them by saying:

> Let's keep things in proportion. Assume, if you like, that they're going to kill him. Well, he is a man, he is mortal, and consequently he would have died anyway, sooner or later. Or to look at it from the social point of view—he's just one man among many, the loss would be well within reason and convenience. And then again, what is so terrible about death? As Socrates so philosophically put it, since we don't know what death is, it is illogical to fear it. It might be . . . very nice.[2]

This is an example of what I mean: the indifference which makes it possible to speak abstractly about another person's death, other people's deaths. It is of a piece with the ability to speak abstractly, impersonally about one's self—as, indeed, Rosencrantz is able to do a moment later: "We, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, from our young days brought up with him, awakened by a man standing on his saddle, are summoned. . . ." He recapitulates what has happened since they were unexpectedly summoned to Denmark, as if it were all predetermined, with effects following causes according to some external plan. Telling it that way, seeing it that way, they need take no responsibility. Only at the last moment, just before he disappears from view, Guildenstern, reviewing it one last time ("Our names shouted in a certain dawn . . . a message . . . a summons. . . ."), says "There must have been a moment, at the beginning, where we could have said—no. But somehow we missed it." [3]

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[1] Ralph Ellison. *Invisible Man.* New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1952. p. 7. By permission of Random House, Inc.

[2] Tom Stoppard. *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead.* New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1968. p. 110. Copyright © 1967 by Tom Stoppard.

I offer this as an example for two reasons. First, it helps me make the point that indifference breeds irresponsibility and that both are somehow functions of a feeling of powerlessness, of nothingness—of being nothing, mere shells, actors, hollow men. Second, it may suggest the power of literature and the arts to turn our attention inward, to confront us with ourselves. Strange as it may seem, I believe that self-confrontation of the sort literature makes possible is the source of the understanding which many have defined as world education's prime concern.

Need for Self-Creation

Before referring to other specific works, let me support what I am saying by recalling a number of recent discussions in this field. Some readers may be familiar with a book edited by the great educational historian, Robert Ulich, a few years ago, called *Education and the Idea of Mankind*.[4] The philosopher, Horace M. Kallen, in a chapter on "Higher Education" in that book, treats education as the struggle of the living to perpetuate themselves. "One need," he writes, "only to look at any person's or people's history to grasp that what it records is a congeries of struggles of Selves and of the group Selves whose identities are organizational Wholes compounded by interindividual relations. . . ." And he asks, "Can whatever 'mankind' signifies as fact, idea, ideal of direct experience be rendered the object of a belief" by means of education—within the process of striving to continue an identity, a way of life?

Mankind, says the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, consists of multitudes, each different from the others and "as different, equal to the others in the right to live and to grow." The idea of mankind, Kallen adds, is the "self-orchestration" of the diverse cultures and faiths and ways and works existing in the world into what might be called a "world community." Then he turns to the young human being asked to commit himself to such an idea and says that his growth into it must be "a self-transcendence achieving itself in a continuing orchestration of his immediate experiences with the symbolic presence of the absent singularities of the rest of humanity."

What strikes me hardest here is the emphasis on the need for self-creation and self-transcendence as primary, and on the fact that the only meaningful commitment to the idea of mankind is the free commitment, the personal commitment—and, I would append, the concerned, responsible one. This is quite different, as I know we all are aware, from a mere abstract assertion of allegiance, a generalized profession of "love" for all humanity. In an odd way, such generalized professions remind me of the hippies' watchword "love"—which, we have been told often enough, is a global feeling, not a personal one, a feeling that involves no responsibility, no face-to-face encounter, but is simply a passive submergence into an ocean some call the One.

I find support for the notion of the importance of self-commitment in Harold Taylor's report on the Conference on World Education held in December 1966.[5] Harris Wofford, formerly of the Peace Corps, noted at one point that by thinking of the foreign student as a foreigner we make distinctions among persons in terms of geography "rather than in terms of human values." (Wofford had said earlier: "There is a worldwide generation, and Peace Corps volunteers have discovered they are part of it and that their students, fellow teachers, peers, and colleagues of other colors and nationalities are really marching to the same beat, wrestling with the same problems and that, whatever the problems are, Yevtuschenko is writing poetry about them." [6]) The crucial point here has to do with commitment, with the ability to hear the beat, to find fellowship through the confrontation of related problems—of a common human condition, something an individual can only know if he is able to know himself. At the conclusion of the conference, when the students took over, Eugene Groves,[7] then president of the National Student Association, said he thought that facts about foreign countries, foreign situations, and foreign students were largely irrelevant—"that it is more a question of feeling and belief. . . . We need to develop concern for the person and his value judgments." The talk, interestingly enough, became talk not only about empathy for other cultures, but about identity; and this, to me, seems utterly crucial.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[4] Robert Ulich, editor. *Education and the Idea of Mankind.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.

[5] Harold Taylor, editor. *Conference on World Education.* Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1967.

My argument is, then, that the arts have a crucial role to play in the search for international understanding or in world education because of the contribution engagement with the arts can make to a sense of identity, a sense of self. I realize that alternative justifications for the use of art are frequently given, and I do not mean to challenge these but, rather, to complement and supplement them. A familiar one is that, through engagement with a novel or a film, a student has a better opportunity to grasp the actual stuff of life in a different culture than he might have simply by reading *about* that culture in a text that did not engage his imagination nor make possible vicarious identification.

To a great extent this is the case, especially when aesthetic experiences are judiciously linked to—and distinguished from—inquiries in the social sciences. I have no doubt, for instance, that the films of Styajit Ray have done much to give people a sense of Indian life, just as the films of Fellini and Antonioni and others have done much to give young people a full, a palpable imaging of certain dimensions of Italian life. I am not willing to say that encounters with films necessarily increase the chances of empathy or the understanding some have in mind; but, if properly fostered, they lay a foundation which may well be made productive in time to come.

To Enter Unfamiliar Worlds

Another justification for the use of the arts has been defined by my colleague Francis Shoemaker in an article in the April 1968 issue of the *Teachers College Record*. Called "New Dimensions for World Cultures," [8] this article discusses the development of what Dr. Shoemaker calls "a serviceable design within which to observe and compare" the ideas and values of diverse societies in the modern world. He writes, therefore, of a world constituted of four major world cultures—Judeo-Christian, Islamic, Hindu-Buddhistic-Taoist, and African. He proposes a study of these cultures by means of the humanities, particularly literature, which offers—he suggests—multiple opportunities to "deal in life-like simultaneity with wide spectrums of materials and values." The idea of coming to know and to empathize with a culture by developing an awareness of its core values is not new, as we realize; but Dr. Shoemaker's design—which is potentially usable in secondary schools—more than likely is. The justification for using the humanities is that, above all things, works of literature are bearers of values, presenters of values, as it were, offering occasions for participation by readers free enough to enter unfamiliar worlds.

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[6] Harris Wofford. "Programs and Concepts in International Education." In: Harold Taylor, editor. *Conference on World Education.* Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1967. p. 120.

[7] Eugene Groves. "The Role of Students in World Education." In: Harold Taylor, editor. *Conference on World Education.* Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1967. p. 41.

[8] Francis Shoemaker. "New Dimensions for World Cultures." *Teachers College Record* 69 (7): 685-97; April 1968.

Again, I would not challenge this idea; I would only complement it, although—in my personal priority scheme—self-discovery by means of literature must precede the confrontation Dr. Shoemaker describes. Yet how does self-discovery occur? What does it have to do with the "understanding" world educators want to make possible?

Let me use as an example a familiar passage that seems peculiarly appropriate at this point:

> Men may seem detestable as joint stock companies and nations; knaves, fools, and murderers there may be; men may have mean and meagre faces; but man, in the ideal, is so noble and so sparkling, such a grand and glowing creature, that over any ignominious blemish in him all his fellows should run to throw their costliest robes. . . . this august dignity I treat of, is not the dignity of kings and robes, but that abounding dignity which has no robed investiture. Thou shalt see it shining in the arm that wields a pick or drives a spoke; that democratic dignity which, on all hands, radiates without end from God, Himself! The great God absolute! The centre and circumference of all democracy! His omnipresence, our divine equality! [9]

That is from *Moby Dick,* from the chapter in which Starbuck, the first mate, is introduced. I use it not only because it is a symbolic rendering of a world composed of "multitudes"; the Pequod crew, after all, is a crew made up of men from diverse cultures. The book itself seems to be a rendering of the first principle (or what I believe to be the first principle) of many philosophies of world education. The principle is that at the highest level of abstraction—that below the surface—mankind (which may signify man in the ideal) is essentially noble, immaculate, and that we are to understand each other—for all our differences—in terms of that nobility, which each of us possesses. Here, however, the principle is transmuted, made concrete and particular.

Melville is presenting, as it were, the form of his feelings about the ideal significance of democracy. But he does this immediately after he has introduced the pious, intrepid, practical Starbuck who "was no crusader after perils" and who could not withstand spiritual terrors or doubts—and immediately before bringing onto his stage happy-go-lucky Stubb, ignorant, irreverent Flask, Queequeg, the Indian Tashtego, and the whole strange crew of Islanders—Isolatoes, Melville calls them, each "living on a separate continent of his own." The novel, as you know, is about a search for identity—and about one of the Isolatoes, Ishmael, who discovers his identity and, indeed, a new life through learning what it is to squeeze another's hand. Engaging with *Moby Dick,* readers discover a thousand singular things—because the book itself is like a white whale, encompassing an endless range of meanings; but whatever is discovered is found within the individual reader—enacting with Ishmael his journey from the rainy street and the coffin warehouses and the thoughts of suicide—to the open, dangerous sea—to comradeship—to shipwreck—and, at last, to rebirth.

How is one to experience rebirth except in terms of one's own life history, one's own consciousness of what it is to feel "a damp, drizzly November" in one's soul, to think of suicide, to risk voyaging, learning, expansion of horizons—yes, and even shipwreck? And, is it not the case that, if one does experience that way, if one draws to the surface of consciousness all those elements of half-forgotten feeling, imagings, yearnings—through the use of one's imagination—one somehow ends up knowing himself, forming the sense of himself in a novel way? And is it not the case that, if one considers—subjectively, perhaps—one's own understanding of alienation and venturing outward and squeezing others' hands, one is in a position to understand (as he could not understand before) what "divine equality" and understanding of others mean?

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[9] Herman Melville. *Moby Dick.* New York: Random House, Inc., 1930. p. 166.

Continuities in Life

I am suggesting that great art has the capacity to move us in this fashion: to move us into ourselves to rediscover our humanity, which is, fundamentally, our consciousness of ourselves, our potentially self-transcending identities.

A poem written by Birago Diop of Senegal, "Breaths," begins:

> Listen more often to things rather than
> beings.
> Hear the fire's voice.
> Hear the voice of water.
> In the wind hear the sobbing of the trees,
> It is our forefathers breathing.
> The dead are not gone forever.
> They are in the paling shadows
> And in the darkening shadows.
> The dead are not beneath the ground,
> They are in the rustling trees. . . .[10]

And so on about the continuing life of the dead. You can tell me things you learned from anthropologists about the attitudes of certain African tribes to their ancestors and to their dead, and to the continuity in life; and I will be interested if you do. You can show me photographs of Senegalese leaning over fires in the forests, and point out the peculiarities of their dress, their gestures, their handling of the things of which the poet speaks; and, again, I will be interested, and probably I will learn. But when I read the poem, I must read it myself; and I can only read it with my own memories, and my own feelings within me; and I can only enact it in terms of my own existing self. If I do, I confront certain feelings I have about continuities—and about the earth—and the degree to which my father has gone forever—and the degree to which he survives. If I can respond to the poem at all, even in translation, I shall be more alive, more myself—less one of the indifferent, irresponsible children of the earth. And, because I also know what it is to mourn and to strive for a continuation of life—because that, in fact, is an aspect of the human condition—perhaps I can begin to open myself to the Senegalese on that level; perhaps I can begin to understand.

There are so many instances of works which involve us with alien cultures and which are, on one level, extremely potent for the sense they provide of another way of life—for the introduction they offer to core and sustaining values—but which are, on the fundamental level, at least for me, powerful for the illumination they provide of my own selfhood, my own existential reality. I think of Marguerite Duras's *The Sea Wall,*[11] an account of an aging Frenchwoman in Indochina, who tries to farm in a barren part of what is now Vietnam—a land full of starving, kindly, prolific peasants somehow resigned to the yearly flooding of the rice paddies, which the dogged Frenchwoman simply cannot accept. She and her family build a seawall which is thrown down in a single night—they challenge the land agents—and it is useless, of course, tragic, heroic—and all the more so because of the sense of eternality, of resignation in the peasants who endure.

There is, of course, tremendous vicarious involvement in the life of Vietnam in the days when the French were still there, and the possibility of an awareness of the Vietnamese people no newsreel can provide. Yet, I think, the understanding that takes place or may take place is derived from the reader's own inner experience with seawalls and battles against resignation—and desires to survive. One somehow moves upward from the fundamental recognition of shared predicament, and of responsibility, to the empathy with Indo-Chinese life which the story somehow insists upon—but which can be realized only when the reader first makes the tragedy his own.

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[10] Birago Diop. "Breaths." In: Jacob Drachler, editor. *African Heritage.* New York: Collier Books, 1960.

[11] Marguerite Duras. *The Sea Wall.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc., 1967.

For a sense of connection with human existence in the U.S.S.R., consider what is enacted by means of *Doctor Zhivago*,[12] the private man caught up in the fantastic movement of history in the days after the Russian Revolution, becoming sickened by artificial conversation, by what becomes—as he puts it—"nothing but words—claptrap in praise of the revolution and the regime." He says he is sick and tired of it. "And it's not the kind of thing I'm good at." Obviously, some people are good at it; but engaging with our own responses, we can understand them too. Confronting the tension between our personal inclinations—the kinds of things we are good at—and the demands imposed upon us by our environment, we may well be coming close to understanding Russian people by means of a predicament we share. "I stand alone," writes Pasternak in the poem called "Hamlet" at the end. "All else is swamped by pharisaism. To live life to the end is not a childish task."

The Sense of Self

Or, for another mode of awareness, we may turn to the Russian poets: Vladimir Mayakovsky, who died in 1930; Voznesensky, who is still very much alive. In 1925 Mayakovsky visited the United States and wrote a poem called "Brooklyn Bridge." The second stanza begins:

Blush
at my praise,
go red as our flag,
however
united states-
of -America
you may be.
As a crazed believer
enters
a church,
retreats
into a monastery cell,
austere and plain;
so I,
in graying evening
haze,
humbly set foot
upon Brooklyn Bridge.[13]

Mayakovsky writes of the drone of the elevated trains, the masts passing under the bridge; and he says that if our planet is ever smashed to bits and only the bridge remains, in the dust "from this bridge, a geologist of the centuries will succeed in recreating our contemporary world." Surely it clears the eye to see for a moment as a foreigner sees, to reorder our visions by means of his. This may be an instance of how we can come closer to others, by looking—with the aid of others—at ourselves. Suppose, just for one moment, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern could have seen themselves through Hamlet's eyes. . . .

"Who are we?" asks Voznesensky, and the "we" includes us, if we permit it to, along with Voznesensky's own countrymen:

Who are we? Ciphers or great men?
There is no physicist no lyricist blood.
Genius is in the planet's blood.
You're either a poet or a Lilliputian
We are inoculated
Against time, with time—whatever we
are.
"What are you?" jolts and spins the head
Like a race car.[14]

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[12] Boris Pasternak. *Doctor Zhivago*. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1958.

[13] Vladimir Mayakovsky. "Brooklyn Bridge." Reprinted by permission of The World Publishing Company from *The Bedbug and Selected Poetry* by Vladimir Mayakovsky. Translated by George Reavey and Max Hayward. Copyright © 1960 by The World Publishing Company.

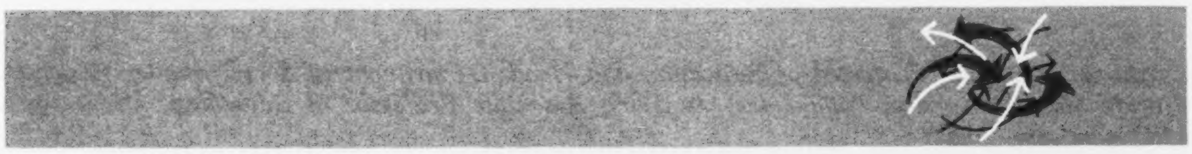
[14] Andrei Voznesensky. "Who Are We?" In: Patricia Blake and Max Hayward, editors. *Antiworlds and the Fifth Ace*. Translated by Stanley Moss. © 1966, 1967 by Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York.

These, I think, are the fundamental questions, questions addressed to the condition that we share. And, perhaps in response to them, encounters between us may be achieved.

I would say the same thing about, for example, Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot,* and about some of Harold Pinter's plays, especially those in which people find refuge against nameless dangers in shabby little rooms—rooms in English towns, of course, rooms with all the appurtenances of the plain people's England: teapots, boxes of cornflakes, gas meters, worn cardigan sweaters, stained caps worn in the room as well as out in the cold. Listening to the banter, the chillingly familiar crosstalk, we experience English life in several of its dimensions; but we also experience ourselves, building our own designs for living, talking and talking to each other to keep the alien thing, the menace, from coming through the door.

I think of Günther Grass's presentation of German life and Polish life along the Vistula, of Kazanzakis' island of Crete, of Cortazar's Argentina, Borges' Brazil, Nadine Gordimer's or Alan Paton's South Africa, Graham Greene's and Doris Lessing's England and Africa, of Sartre's Paris and Camus's Algiers or Oran—of Liverpool and London in British films, of the French airports and cafes in Godard films, of the schoolrooms and bars in Truffaut films, of the Kafkaesque cities and the haunted countryside in Bergman films—and I know well that they have made it possible for us to visualize the many facets of the global village, that they have in some measure exposed us to the values of diverse cultures. Yet, when I think back upon my experience with such works—as when I recollect paintings, poems, pieces of music—I remember, somehow, what I felt, what I discovered in myself.

The resources are multiple. The reader knows them as well as I do. I would only plead that they be used in such a way that students find in them occasions first of all for discovering themselves. The person who can create himself—choose himself—is the one who can overcome the feeling of nothingness and hopelessness that breeds indifference and lack of concern. Once he becomes visible to himself, he may find his vision clearing, he may find that he is transcending himself. He may find self-commitment possible—the commitment to orchestrate himself with the selves of others with whom he can empathize as a fellow-creature confronting the same crucial human problems, moving to the same beat. The sense of self comes first, then the squeeze of the hand, and then, hopefully, identity in its fullest sense—an opening outward to the multifarious world. At that point there can be an effort to encourage understanding *about* the global village by those who have learned in time that there are moments for choosing—who will forever refuse to be indifferent children of the earth. □



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Political Socialization in International Perspective

BYRON G. MASSIALAS

Interview *

Q.: Do you think the United States can trust other countries?

A.: It depends on what countries they are. Some countries, yes. The Soviet Union, no. I mean, some countries you can. Some countries like the Soviet Union could invade us right now. I mean they're a country you can't trust. Some countries, yes, you can really trust them.

Q.: What countries can you trust?

A.: Oh ah, Australia, that's one you can trust. We go there all the time. That's one you can trust. Right now, this year and that, Vietnam. Ah, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, ones like that.

Q.: What are some other ones? You said you couldn't trust the Soviet Union. What are some other ones that you couldn't trust?

A.: Yugoslavia, ah Germany, ah let me see, one half of Vietnam.

Q.: What about the Soviet Union, why can't we trust them?

A.: We can't trust them at all. I mean, they're just a state, I mean a country, that likes to have war. We think that they just love war; if they had freedom they would probably die. It's just that their custom is war all the time.

* Excerpt from an interview with a sixth grade girl from a rural school in Michigan, recorded by Sue Bailey and Allen Glenn.

ONE way in which the schools relate to the political system is through the political socialization of children and youth.[1] Political socialization is generally the process of acquiring and changing the culture of one's own political environment. The schools—the curriculum, the textbooks, the instructional methods, the school clubs, the classroom milieu, the students, the teachers, the administrative structure, and the like—may implicitly or explicitly engage in the transmission of basic political orientations toward the environment. These orientations can be (a) cognitive (for example, ability to analyze and interpret data about political institutions or behavior), (b) affective (for example, the development of positive or negative attitudes toward the symbols of authority), or (c) evaluative (for example, judgments based on application of certain standards to the performance of political roles). The kinds of political orientations children develop determine to a large extent the type of political culture that will prevail. Basic political orientations are formed very early in life, especially between the ages of 3 and 13, and unless a very powerful environment impinges upon the individual, he

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the role of education in political socialization, see: Byron G. Massialas. *Education and the Political System.* Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969; also: Byron G. Massialas, editor. *Political Youth, Traditional Schools.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972. (In press.)

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tends to remain with the same orientations throughout his life cycle.

Citizen Involvement

Cultures in which there is a relatively high degree of citizen involvement (civic cultures) generally have people who view themselves as politically efficacious. That is, they feel that they can, through their own efforts, influence political decision making. Nations in which the people have very little concern for changing the government through their own efforts have parochial political cultures. In these nations the citizen expects virtually nothing from the political system.

In order for a political system to survive it must secure reasonable support from its citizens. Support for (or criticism of) the system is provided by various socialization agents, for example, the family, the church, the peer group, the school. For instance, the schools may socialize children to accept, without question, the policies of the government and develop benign attitudes toward the authorities.

Conversely, the schools may impart critical orientations toward the regime. By stressing the rights and privileges of citizens (rather than their duties and obligations), schools may stimulate youth to organize and articulate certain wants to the government in the form of demands. Sometimes, as in several recent cases of student activism, these demands are directed against the administration of the school which represents the symbol of political authority of the larger community.

In many countries, for example, Turkey under Adnan Menderes and South Korea under Syngman Rhee, the respective governments have been toppled through student-initiated action. Elsewhere, students expressed through their actions, both spontaneous and organized, varying degrees of concern and interest in the affairs of their government.

International Political Socialization

International political socialization has two general meanings. First, the term refers to the process of transmitting knowledge about and forming attitudes toward the international community of men. American children, for example, learn about and develop certain attitudes toward other political systems, either national, regional, or worldwide. Second, the term refers to the process of transmission of political orientations in different national settings. Questions asked in this context are: Are German children as strongly influenced in developing politically relevant behavior by educational institutions as are English children? Are Italian children as cynical toward certain aspects of political life as American children? Let us look at some relevant findings from comparative studies.

Political Efficacy

Political efficacy is only one outcome of political socialization. The expression usually refers to the image that one has of himself as a person who can influence the decision-making process of the government. This image stems in part from the person's ability to understand the operation of his government and feel competent in changing it. As mentioned before, the level of political efficacy of a nation's citizens provides a good indication of the nation's political culture—parochial, subject, civic, or mixed.

A cross-cultural study of five nations indicated that Americans and British are the most efficacious, followed by Germans, Mexicans, and Italians.[2] In all countries, perception of ability to influence the government, both on the national and local levels, varied with the amount of education a person had—the more education the higher the expectations for active citizenship. Age, sex, social class, intelligence, personality, eth-

[2] Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963.

nicity, and religion are also important factors in understanding patterns of political efficacy of children in different nations.

In the five-nation study already mentioned, it was found that when the individual is given the opportunity to participate in school decisions (either by protesting against an unfair regulation or by taking an active part in classroom discussion) his political efficacy is increased. That is, those who remembered participating in school decisions had higher scores on the index of political efficacy than those who did not.

The effects of manifest teaching of politics or civics on the political socialization of children and youth are not clear. Formal courses in these areas (politics, civics, national history) seem to make no appreciable difference in political efficacy, cynicism (or its opposite, social trust), expectations for political participation, sense of civic duty, and the like. Even political knowledge does not seem to be increased by exposure to traditional school civics or history programs. Recent research indicates that in order for these courses to be effective, they need to be (a) taught through the process of inquiry (that is, developing and testing alternative ideas and positions in an open classroom climate) and (b) focused on important social issues.

Concept of Other Nations

What kinds of cognitive understanding about and affective orientations toward other peoples do children develop? In what way does the school contribute to the development of these orientations?

Among youth in Western Europe there is a strong movement away from strictly nationalistic orientations to identification with larger systems (for example, an integrated Europe).[3] In 1964-65 the overall percentage of youth, ages 13-19, who were for European unification was as follows: In the Netherlands, 95 percent; Germany, 95 percent; Britain, 72 percent. A poll of adults in these countries taken earlier indicated a strong feeling for unification but not as strong as that of youth. The age group of 55 and over is markedly less European than all others. The differences between adults and youth are due to the early socialization patterns in the different age groups. While the research suggests that the prospects for a "United States of Europe" are good, it does not attribute to any particular agent any significant influence on this development.

A study of children's attitudes toward foreign peoples in 14 countries revealed that Bantu and Brazilian 14-year-old children were the most ethnocentric.[4] The American, Canadian, Japanese, and French children were the least. Lebanese, Turkish, Israeli, and German children formed an "in-between" group in terms of ethnocentrism. When asked to name other peoples who were similar to them, all groups with the exception of Bantu children considered Americans to be "like us." (Americans were within the first three choices.) The British and the French were also considered by several of the national groups to be "like us." The Chinese and Africans were most consistently considered "not like us."

As children grew older they increasingly considered the Russians "not like us." The characterizations given to the various reference groups are also revealing. In general, the Israelis were thought of as good, religious, peaceful, intelligent; the Japanese as poor, intelligent, bad; the Turkish as good, peaceful, ambitious, religious, patriotic, clean.

It is extremely difficult to interpret these and other results concerning the development of stereotypes in children. Some of the factors are embedded in the national background of the children; the cultural values under which they are brought up; demographic factors such as age, sex, and social status; and the impact of the various socialization agents. It is interesting, however, to note that the majority of the six-year-olds receive their information about foreign peoples from parents, television and movies, and direct contact. The older children, ages 10 to 14, identify major sources of information as being television and movies, books, school course work, textbooks, and magazines. Parents, teachers, and friends are not mentioned often as sources of information among the older age group.

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[3] Ronald Inglehart. "An End to European Integration?" *The American Political Science Review* 61 (1): 91-105; March 1967.

[4] Wallace E. Lambert and Otto Klineberg. *Children's Views of Foreign Peoples.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967.

Although it is difficult to trace the origins of ethnocentrism to any of the sources of information that young children point to (there are so many other mediating factors involved), it is revealing to see how other cultures are treated in formal school work. Studies are not plentiful in this area, but the ones we have (mostly studies of textbooks) indicate that standard texts tend to perpetuate misconceptions and national stereotypes and are ethnocentric in their treatment of other cultures. American civics and history texts, for example, present the United States as the champion of freedom, goodwill, and rationality, while other sovereign states are either aggressors or second-raters.

Traditional elementary and secondary school textbooks (most of which describe and praise or condemn rather than critically analyze political institutions and actors) provide the worst means to introduce students to an understanding of government and the role of the citizen in decision making.[5] Authors and publishers of texts, not only in the United States but abroad, tend to underestimate the ability of young people to order their own learning experiences and to develop plausible explanations of political and social phenomena.

Implications

One of the most important indices of political socialization is the sense of efficacy that an individual has to understand and influence the decisions of his government. Styles of political efficacy relate to types of political systems existing in the world. High levels of efficacy usually characterize democratic polities. Formal education potentially relates to political efficacy. The influence of elementary education seems to be more direct than that of secondary education.

When sociopolitical issues are discussed in the classroom in a true spirit of inquiry, then the level of political efficacy of the participants may be raised. This hypothesis needs to be tested carefully in different national settings. Research indicates, however, that very few teachers deal explicitly with issues and even fewer with the methods of disciplined inquiry in discussing these issues.

The research on the political socialization patterns of children in different countries suggests that while there is a general movement toward identifying and accepting larger political arrangements (for example, the concept of a United Europe), basic parochial and ethnocentric tendencies in both cognitive and affective orientations toward the world still prevail among children. In many instances, schools (through courses, textbooks, instructional methods, administrative arrangements, and the like) tend to reinforce and perpetuate distorted images of other peoples of the world or of ethnic minorities within a country.

The most significant implications for the classroom teacher have already been outlined. In order to maximize political efficacy and minimize ethnocentrism, teachers need to attend directly to current political and social issues, introduce them systematically into the formal program of the school, and discuss them through the mode of inquiry which emphasizes alternatives advanced by the participants and which asks for the defensibility of value positions. The total school milieu should be supportive of this effort.

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[5] Byron G. Massialas. "Citizenship and Political Socialization." In: Robert L. Ebel, editor. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research.* Fourth edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969. pp. 124-41.

Students should be given the opportunity to participate in important school decisions—on curriculum, on recruiting and retiring teachers, on discipline issues, etc. When students develop participatory rather than compliant or apathetic behavior and when they evolve cosmopolitan rather than parochial outlooks of other people, the school as an agent of political socialization will have a share in an emerging world culture. ☐

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What is Valued in Different Cultures?

INA CORINNE BROWN

AS WE move into the final decades of the 20th century, one fact stands out above all else: The various peoples who share the globe must take one another into account. That we understand one another and appreciate our differences is essential to survival.

Probably the poorest means of achieving such understanding is to start out briskly to "get the facts," because the facts are elusive, slippery, and often subject to a variety of interpretations. There is some question as to what really constitutes a nation, and on any morning one may wake to find that a new one has been born or that one has been swallowed up by some larger power. Yet even if we can define a given nation by precise political boundaries, there is no assurance of uniformity of values within such boundaries. To add to the problem, "getting to know people" is no guarantee that we will either understand or like them. Some of the bitterest hostilities of the present world are between peoples who are of the same race, language, and religion and who know each other very well.

What then can we do? We all know by now that a culture is the sum total and organization of all the patterned ways by which a people live. Because there are hundreds of different cultures and subcultures, nobody can hope to learn about them all. Yet the problem is not as difficult as it may appear, for in spite of their specific differences all cultures are basically alike and all serve essentially the same functions. Within any society there must be ways of getting food, clothing, and shelter. There must be some way of dividing up the work, and some patterning of the relationships of men, women, and children, of old and young, and of kin and non-kin.

There must be some means of aesthetic expression and some kind of value system with ways of maintaining it. And there must always be some means by which children are brought into the world, cared for, and enculturated so as to maintain continuity in the life of the society.

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Similar Needs, Similar Resources

The first step in understanding a particular culture, then, is to learn what any culture is, what it does, and how it operates. This gives one a theoretical framework within which to organize information and experience. The second step is to get some idea of the variety of ways in which human behavior has been institutionalized, for this makes one aware of alternatives. Finally, one needs to keep in mind the interrelatedness of the patterns within any culture. When one is armed with this approach, the problem of understanding other cultures can be reduced to manageable proportions.

All human beings have the same fundamental needs and all societies must to some degree meet the needs of their members. We can even say that all human groups have essentially the same problems to meet and basically the same resources with which to meet them. At first glance Eskimos, Hottentots, and Dobuans may appear to live in very different worlds of snow, desert, and tropical island, and to encounter very different problems. Yet they all have the resources of air, land, and water. All have some form of plant and animal life. All must reckon with the forces of nature. All people have similar organisms with similar needs. They must eat and sleep and they all go through the same life cycle from birth to death. All must find ways to cope with illness, accident, and misfortune, and none can survive without the assistance and cooperation of his fellows.

Once we see what any culture does and how it operates, we need to get some idea of the variety of ways in which problems can be met. For example, all societies define certain objectively edible substances as food. Most societies reject some equally edible substances as unfit for human consumption. The rejections of other people may include things we accept, such as meat, milk, and fresh eggs, and their acceptables may include our rejected rats, caterpillars, and ready-to-hatch eggs. We do not have to share one another's definitions; but we do need to realize that our differences lie not in the edibility of certain substances but in the ways in which such edibility is made acceptable.

All societies in some way regulate sexual behavior and provide for something that can be called a family. But the way in which marriages are arranged, the form the family takes, who is counted as kin, and the rights and duties of all these persons with reference to one another are, again, a matter of cultural definition. No one way is necessarily superior to another. They are all simply different solutions to certain problems of human relations and a way of guaranteeing that children will be born and brought up to become functioning members of the society.

Grammar of Culture

In all societies there is some degree of interrelatedness in the culture patterns so that change in any one pattern may well affect numerous others. Therefore, persons acting as change agents must always take into account the fact that no pattern exists outside a cultural matrix and that any pattern may have numerous ramifications that are not apparent on the surface.

However, the differences in culture are not merely differences in overt behavior patterns. Both language and culture affect the way in which objects, actions, and events are perceived. Each culture has its own way of organizing experience and these organizations may take many different forms. As a member of a given society, a child learns what has been called the grammar of his culture in the same way that he learns the grammar of his language. Both kinds of grammar are then taken for granted and become a part of his thinking and of his way of perceiving the world. Thus, as Julian Huxley points out, people with different sets of experiences have different maps of reality.

Furthermore, peoples in other parts of the world may face specific problems unknown in the West. In parts of Asia and

Africa the problems of education are complicated by linguistic differences. Within a given area there may be not just one or two but dozens of different languages, for some of which there may be no written material at all. And there may be not only a deep attachment to one's language but also deeply felt national or tribal loyalties. Sometimes racial, religious, linguistic, and other cultural differences may all be involved at once.

On top of this and exacerbating the other problems is the spread of Western technology to pre-industrial societies. The transistor radio has penetrated to the remotest villages, and in many places there is a community television set. Inevitably, there has grown up a conflict in values. People may well want the goods and gadgets of the West, but they may also cherish their older ways which put the buying and upkeep of Western goods far out of their reach.

Julian Huxley points to the seemingly contradictory movement toward fragmentation of the large, formerly Western-controlled areas into many smaller, highly self-conscious national entities, at the same time that the diffusion of Western technology brings these countries into the orbit of the modern world. One of the major problems confronting international education is to find ways by which efficiency of exploitation of the world's resources can be reconciled with the fulfillment of personality within different cultural frameworks. Only as this problem is met will there be available to the world the contributions of various cultures whose experiments in living open up new avenues for the life-enrichment of us all. ☐

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Soviet Education Faces the 70's

ALEXANDER M. CHABE

IT HAS been said about the Soviet Union that the more it changes, the more it remains the same.[1] Throughout the first half-century of Communist power, there has been much change. Yet much remains the same. Soviet society has been transformed from an agrarian type to an industrialized type. Yet much of the nation remains agrarian. Soviet ideology rejected bourgeois culture restricted to an elite few and introduced proletarian culture disseminated to the broad masses. Yet many cultural values of the past remain.

The 1917 Revolution ushered in Marxist-Leninist educational philosophy and restructured educational organization, methodology, and curriculum. The dawn of a new educational era appeared as the church and aristocracy fell victim to the Communist "wave of the future." With the reordering of educational priorities, illiteracy was conquered. The downtrodden peasant could now read, even though he was provided only a bland diet of Communist propaganda.

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[1] Anthony Carthew. "Moscow Report: . . . The More It Remains the Same." *The New York Times Magazine,* May 18, 1969. pp. 28-29+.

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The Stalinist educational era brought a return to the European academic model, while the Khrushchevian period reconsidered polytechnical training with its aim of developing needed blue-collar workers. Education was to be related to life. The post-Khrushchevian period saw Soviet education further accede to the demands of science and technology. As is evident, the long-term ebb and flow of Soviet education has been affected by social, politico-ideological, economic, and scientific-technological considerations. Yet educationally much remains the same.

On the present Soviet educational surface it looks like business as usual. However, serious problems, such as student discontent, have been reported even at the prestigious Moscow State University, from which recent American delegations have been steered away. Perhaps the shock waves of world educational ferment are now reaching Soviet shores. Eventually those waves may penetrate more deeply despite established Communist safeguards.

Ideal and Real Aims of Soviet Education

According to the vice-president of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (APS), Aleksei Markushevich, Soviet education has the following aims:

> . . . to educate a harmoniously developed all-round person spiritually and intellectually with an insatiable curiosity to be satisfied throughout life, one who possesses a good and kind heart with hands not afraid of any kind of work including manual.

Furthermore, he stated that "man possesses large potential. The teacher must help these young beings and apply their knowledge to develop a builder of a new and more perfect society."

It is very apparent that educational optimism underlies Mr. Markushevich's statements. In theory, Soviet education devotes attention to the ideal of developing an all-round personality for living in a utopian society. In reality, however, a Soviet citizen is trained or educated (within limits) by the Soviet state in order to serve the needs of the state. Soviet Communist education enhances the power and capabilities of the state and not the learner.

Rather than cultivating an "insatiable curiosity," Soviet education is producing the controlled and submissive man who is dutiful, unquestioning, and fervently patriotic. This "builder of a new and more perfect society" has discovered that the general design has been laid out before him by Party ideologists and planners. He must now pattern himself and his behavior to that design in order to become a successful "builder" of that "new and more perfect society." To do otherwise would result in failure.

General Features of Soviet Education

A primary characteristic of Soviet education is that the political power structure centered in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU), intent on perpetuating only Communist values, determines the course of education. Ordinary Soviet citizens have little, if anything, to do with the formulation of local, republic, or union (national) educational policy which is implemented through the republic Ministries of Education and lower-echelon educational administrators. Educational change does not emanate at the "grass roots" but rather flows from the top downward through the CPSU, which retains centralized control over Soviet education and enforces a dictatorship over the mind. One result of such an arrangement is a uniform system of education and a standard curriculum.

With the exception of the hearing handicapped, visually handicapped, physically handicapped, and mentally defective, pupils are not grouped homogeneously. Such grouping or academic streaming is done neither in the first class nor later classes. Soviet educators are convinced that homogeneous grouping can be successful if instruction is properly organized. However, Soviet educators fail to recognize that their special schools in music, ballet, painting, and sculpture as well as the experimental schools in science and mathematics [2] reflect a grouping policy. They reason that such institutions serve only as developers of talents and not as agencies of streaming and differentiation.

As in other countries, Soviet educators have created a specially-designed curriculum for mentally defective pupils, who work at a specified rate under a teacher-specialist. According to the APS vice-president, pupils with deep mental retardation complete the four-year course of study in eight years, while those less retarded complete the eight-year course of study in ten years. Such claims provoke much debate among visiting American educators.

Pupil learning and instruction in the Soviet Union are carried on by the right hand. Soviet educators claim a physiological basis for right-handed instruction. They assert that a benefit of such practice is a lighter load on the left side wherein the heart is located. That the left side of the body has more nerves, more blood vessels, more inner organs, and controls the right side also points to the Soviet need for right-handed instruction. A pragmatic reason for right-handedness can be found in factory, workshop, and laboratory demands of Soviet technology and science.

Test types of the American and English system are not used in Soviet education, but instead achievement tests of the essay variety are employed. Such Soviet tests reflect the subject matter presently under study. After being administered, those tests are then analyzed for mistakes. As a result of that analysis, special tasks are assigned to individual pupils as the need indicates.

Soviet technical education is still being conducted in the technicums along a narrow profile of specialized studies. The key factor in obtaining advanced training and higher education in the USSR is ability. Educational progress is dependent upon individual motivation, capabilities, talents, and development.

The Soviet teacher is characterized as one who values each teaching minute and tries to use each such minute fully. He is considered the key figure in the educative process. Educational technology is regarded as a tool in the hands of a skillful and wise teacher.

Although many factories have changed or are in the process of changing to a five-day work week, Soviet primary and secondary schools still operate on a six-day week. Soviet educators envision no change to a five-day school week, but acknowledge the possibility of a changeover at some future date.

Soviet educators assert they do not want to leave out of their educational mainstream anything interesting, creative, and worthwhile in American education. The present value of American programmed texts is not being overestimated. Such texts are considered as one instrument available to the teacher in addition to others. Soviet educational researchers do not limit their horizon to American educational theories and practices, but study educational literature published in all countries.

Transition to the New Curriculum

The main thrust of Soviet education as it moves into the seventies is the transition to the new curriculum which attempts to bridge the gap between scientific progress and the old program. Due to the educative force of radio and television and developments in science, technology, and culture, much educational material had become obsolete. Therefore, unneeded and superfluous elements of the old curriculum faced elimination.

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[2] See: Elizabeth Moos. *Soviet Education: Achievements and Goals.* New York: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1967. pp. 20, 58-73.

The contents of Soviet education changed after 1966 with the adoption of a new syllabus agreed upon by the CPSU's *otdel shkol* (school section) and the USSR Council of Ministers. In developing the new curriculum, the APS of the USSR Ministry of Education sought advice and assistance from both educators and scientists. Revision in mathematics and the Russian language has been especially complicated. As of April 1969, forty percent of the schools transferred to the new curriculum. The transition is scheduled for completion by 1973-74.

The new curriculum will require new textbooks and teacher guides, which presently are under preparation at the APS. The APS believes that the main difficulty with the new curriculum will be with the teachers and not the pupils. Books, guides, materials, and articles will be needed to help upgrade teachers. Some parents, however, do not share the confidence of the APS educational workers. They contend that the advanced level academic content introduced into the new curriculum[3] is beyond the intellectual capacity of many children. Furthermore, those parents contend that the instruction has become too abstract, resulting in confusion and a loss of pupil interest. Perhaps the APS went academically overboard in developing the new curriculum disregarding the learning characteristics and potential of the pupil.

As of 1970 under the new design, the primary level will consist of the first three classes rather than the first four classes. The fourth class will transfer into the subject matter system, resulting in an additional 500 hours of academic instruction. Rather than being taught arithmetic, primary classes will be taught mathematics. Physics, stressing atomic theory, will be taught in the sixth class. Chemistry will stress molecular-atomic theories and reflect modern science and technology.

Optional (elective) subjects begin with the seventh class and continue through the tenth. Such optional courses allow for meeting individual differences in a Soviet version. Pupils are given opportunity to study more deeply such subjects as art, literature, or science. The teacher must interest the pupil in a different field; however, optional courses are not required for every pupil but are being encouraged. In the ninth and tenth classes, optional courses are included in the regular school day either before or after the scheduled lessons. Such courses are obligatory for the school and are included in the teacher's load; however, they are optional for pupils.

The new curriculum, theoretically designed to include a well-balanced volume of knowledge required of all pupils, is to serve for a ten-year period. Obviously, such a lengthy period of implementation will result in curricular dysfunctionality due to the rapid developments in science, technology, and culture. Apparently the Soviet educational bureaucracy cannot move any faster.

Soviet Educational Problems and Trends

Soviet educators identified several pressing problems.[4] Problem 1 related to the shortage of men teachers in the lower classes. Repeated observation by this writer reveals that men teachers are in very short supply in all classes and in all types of schools. The institutes and universities, in comparison, are staffed with more men, but the exact ratio is unknown. It is doubtful whether Soviet men would be interested or permitted to teach in the primary level, which has become a woman's stronghold. Other classes of the ten-year school would undoubtedly be open to men. Identified as educational problem 2 was the shortage of teachers in foreign languages, mathematics, and physics. Similar types of teacher shortages exist in American education.

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[3] For detailed curricular plans, see: Alexander M. Chabe. "Soviet Curricular Developments and Trends." *Educational Leadership* 26 (7): 667-68; April 1969.

[4] For an accounting of Soviet educational weaknesses, see: Alexander M. Chabe. "Assessing Soviet Education." *Education* 88 (2): 3-6; November-December 1967.

Educational problem 3 dealt with consolidation needs in the rural areas where too many small schools were operating. Such schools were either one-teacher or two-teacher primary (four-year) schools or incomplete (eight-year) secondary schools. The small eight-year rural schools have the separate subject curriculum, and some even provide boarding facilities.

Not identified by Soviet educators as a problem, but evident to American educators, is the smallness of room size. Space allotments at primary and secondary levels are minimal, curtailing any type of group activity. Seats and desks are crowded together, thus limiting the movement of pupils and teacher alike. One senses physical restriction and confinement.

Three educational trends [5,6] were noted by Soviet educators: (a) *yasli* (nursery) and the *detskii sad* (kindergarten) are being consolidated into one establishment known as *yasli-detskii sad*; (b) the preschool network is being widened optimistically to be available within three to five years to all those Soviet children desiring such experiences; and (c) higher education evening classes and correspondence courses are being dropped since they are considered to be of low quality.

As Soviet education faces the seventies, it recognizes its many achievements. The educational and cultural level of the nation has been raised. In economic development, the USSR occupies a place second to the world-leading United States. Soviet educators, however, are aware of the many problems and difficulties which lie ahead. Rapid developments in science and technology call for a continued reexamination of school organization, methodology, and curriculum. Soviet educational planners must concern themselves with the demands of an industrialized society and perhaps a post-industrialized cybernetic society such as that which is evolving in the United States. The seventies will show continued Party and government concern with education. Education will be expected to create that "new" Soviet man able to live in the "perfect" Communist society. □

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[5] For an enumeration of Soviet educational generalizations, see: Alexander M. Chabe. "Soviet Society and Education." *The Clearing House* 41 (5): 262-63; January 1967.

[6] For an evaluation of Soviet education, see: Alexander M. Chabe. "Evaluating Soviet Education." *School and Society* 95 (2297): 458-62; November 25, 1967.

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Aspirations for Education in the "New" and Free Nations of Africa

ENOKA H. RUKARE

WRITERS and critics of the systems of education in Africa during the colonial period very often underestimate the quality and quantity of the educational work that was actually achieved in that era. One often gets the impression that under the colonial regime education was completely neglected. It is, of course, true that the colonial powers could conceivably have done much more than they did in education during the long period they governed the African territories.

It is equally true that, during most of the 19th century and early part of the 20th century, initiative in educational work in the British, French, and Belgian territories was almost exclusively taken by the Christian missionary bodies. We know that at a conference held in Cambridge in 1910, mission groups strongly urged colonial governments to take a more active and responsible part in the development of education in their African territories. It was indeed because of such criticisms that the Phelps-Stokes Commission was appointed in the early 1920's. The first report of this famous Commission was published in 1922. It confirmed earlier criticisms by missionaries and government officers regarding the inadequacy of the curricula, organization, and administration of African schools.

Credit should, however, be given to the colonial governments in London, Paris, and Brussels for taking at least *theoretical* action on the important recommendations of the Commission report. Cowan, O'Connell, and Scanlon, in their *Education and Nation-Building in Africa,* 1965, have given an excellent review of the educational policy statements and directives of the British, French, and Belgian governments between 1925 and 1950. A study of these policy statements reveals that the colonial powers had educational insights which are not significantly different from the insights that have so far been expressed by political and educational leaders in the newly independent nations of Africa.

One example of an attempt by a colonial power to adapt a Western type of education to the mentality, aptitudes, and traditions of the colonial peoples is contained in the policy memorandum, *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925,* published by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies. In one section the memorandum says:

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.[1]

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[1] Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies. *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925.* pp. 3-8.

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Needs and Actions

It is still true, however, that most of these aspirations, which were developed by educational advisers in Paris, London, and Brussels, never went beyond the desks of the colonial administrators in the African territories. There was thus an unfortunate gap between what was intended or planned and what was actually implemented. Yet is this gap not also identifiable in the educational policies of the free and independent African nations? If political and educational leaders in Africa today are to avoid the inevitable condemnation of future generations, serious attempts must be made to bridge the gap between their declared educational aspirations and needs on one side and the practical actions taken on these aspirations on the other side.

If education is to be an effective ladder for political, social, and economic advancement, professional educationists, political leaders, and social science scholars in Africa (and outside Africa?) must learn to accept in a practical way the challenge and responsibility of coordinating their effort and know-how. There are too few personnel in each professional camp for the African elite to assume the "mind-your-business" attitude. It is here that the spirit of what has been described as African socialism may begin to bear tangible fruits.

One of the clearest inventories of African educational needs was spelled out at a Unesco-convened Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa at Addis Ababa in May 1961. Richard Greenough, who was an active observer at the conference, has described these needs as follows:

> Basically, spread across the full spectrum of education from the Primary School through higher and university education levels and embracing adult education, as well as all the auxiliary and related services essential to effective programmes of education, they can be broken down under five main headings: overall needs; material needs such as buildings, textbooks, equipment; need for teachers; need for changes and reforms in methods of teaching and school curricula; need for the development of African culture. Woven inseparably through all these are two other paramount needs—financing and planning.[2]

The participants at the Addis Ababa Conference did not merely draw up an inventory of educational needs; they went further and devised an educational development plan for the whole continent. This plan was later revised and clarified at the Paris and the Tananarive conferences. In the main the 20-year plan set as targets the attainment of universal primary education throughout Africa by 1980; the enrollment at secondary school level of 30 percent of the children leaving primary schools; and the admission of some 20 percent of those completing secondary education to higher and university education, mostly in African institutions.

At the Abidjan Conference in 1964, the Addis Ababa plan was further reviewed. It was then agreed that an additional target should be to eradicate illiteracy. It was also recommended that for reasons of efficiency special emphasis should be given to *national* educational planning—of course within the continental targets in the Addis Ababa master plan. Another refinement of the Abidjan Conference was the general endorsement of the principle of Africanization.

These needs and aspirations seem to present two distinct types of challenges. First, there is the *quantitative* aspect of educational development, and second, there is the *qualitative* aspect of educational development. It is the contention of this writer that the general tendency of both the colonial governments and the independent African governments so far has been to devote very great attention to the quantitative aspect of educational development almost to the neglect of its qualitative elements. Faced with the gloomy situation in which over 80 percent of the more than 170 million Africans could neither read nor write; in which less than 50 percent of the school-age children had any opportunity of stepping inside a school; in which, of those who were enrolled, less than half completed their primary education; in which only three out of every hundred school-age children ever saw the inside of a secondary school; and in which less than two out of every thousand children had a chance of some sort of higher education, it is quite understandable for the newly independent African nations to have focused attention on the quantitative aspect of educational development.

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[2] Richard Greenough. *Africa Calls,* 1961. pp. 15-16.

It is, however, equally important that the qualitative aspect of education in the independent African nations be given serious attention. This is because the inherited systems of education were in many respects based on assumptions which are no longer relevant to the people of the new states. President Nyerere has, for example, identified four such assumptions in the system of education Tanzania inherited from its former colonial masters. These are:

> 1. That education is designed to meet the interests and needs of the very few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows, a practice that induces feelings of superiority for the elite and inferiority among the majority
>
> 2. That it tends to divorce its participants from the society, so that the school here has practically nothing to do with the society within which it is set
>
> 3. That the "system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books" or only from people who have been to schools
>
> 4. That the system has led to the acquisition of attitudes which regard "manual" work as being inferior to "mental" work and hence to the view that manual work is below the status of the "educated" person.

"Community" Experience

African leaders ought to follow the lead President Nyerere has given, as expressed in his booklet *Education for Self-Reliance, 1967,* and reexamine the social and economic relevance of the curricula and modes of thought that have been inherited from the colonial systems of education. Such a review of the relevance of existing curricula should lead to a redefinition of the aims of education. In this process of redefining educational goals, one would have to clarify the type of society he wishes to develop and possibly to know more about the psychology of the African child.

Yet given the goodwill of parties concerned, the exercise of improving the quality of African education should present no insurmountable problems. Many of us who claim to be educationists might, however, have to shed many of our professional hang-ups. It might also be necessary to adopt non-conventional methods in our educational reorganization. One of the problems I have encountered, in attempts to introduce aspects of African culture in Ugandan Teacher Training Colleges, has been the scarcity of men and women with the necessary experience.

Very few of the members of the college faculties were prepared to accept responsibility for teaching African art, African music, African dance, African history, or African ways of worshiping God or gods. There were plenty of people within easy reach of these institutions who were fully competent to introduce these important aspects of our culture, but none of them had the "paper" qualification demanded by official regulations to allow them to offer their services even on a part-time basis!

Another professional hang-up that African educationists may have to contend with is the "inherited" belief that the "illiterate" African has nothing of value to offer. The colonial educationists, being ignorant of the "native" languages, could hardly be expected to know better. We do know, however, that many of these so-called "illiterate" people actually represent mines of African wisdom. I know an old woman in South Uganda who knows the names and classes of nearly every plant and grass in the region and who is believed to be the private family medicine adviser to a number of the African medical doctors at the neighboring government hospitals. There are many other experts in other fields.

It is thus true that those who have had most of what Western education could give are least prepared to offer practical guidance in the revolution to Africanize education for the African child—and those who are best qualified to interpret African culture are not given the platform in our schools. One way of resolving this unfortunate situation is by modifying current red tape to enable educational institutions to make full use of "community" experience. Another important way of tapping such "community" experience is in widespread and systematic recording of such human resources. The assistance of international educational organizations and/or other agencies would be greatly welcomed in such a program.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that the cry to revolutionize education does not imply that the African educationist has to adopt everything that is contained in the surviving African culture(s). Our turning to the cultures of our precolonial past, to the tribal and kinship social and economic sanctions that helped to maintain law and order, and to our "primitive" conceptions(s) of the physical and spiritual world(s) is not an end in itself. It is but a necessary means in the process of rediscovering our identity. It is a means in the process of making our educational aspirations more realistic and qualitatively meaningful.

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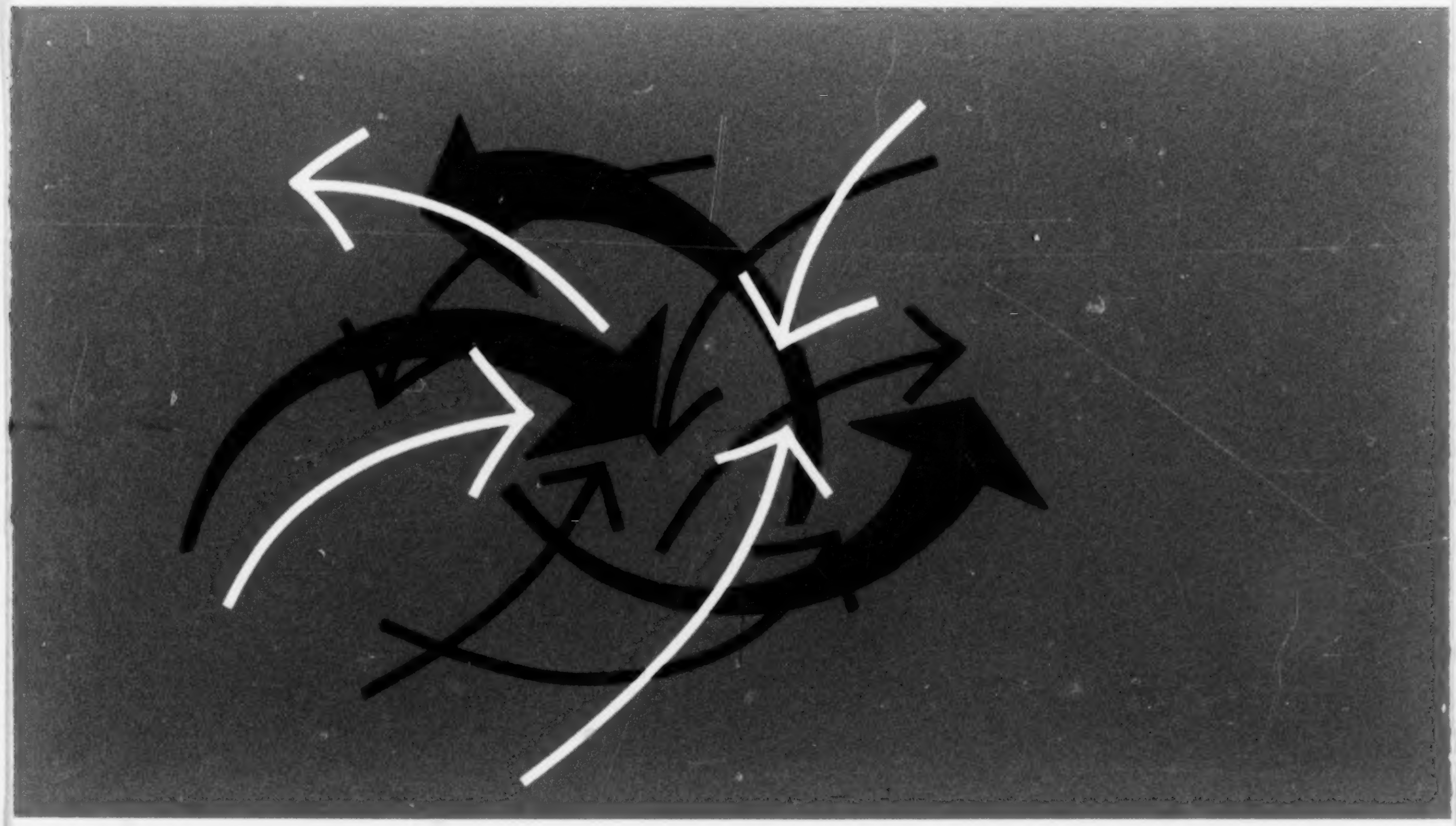

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